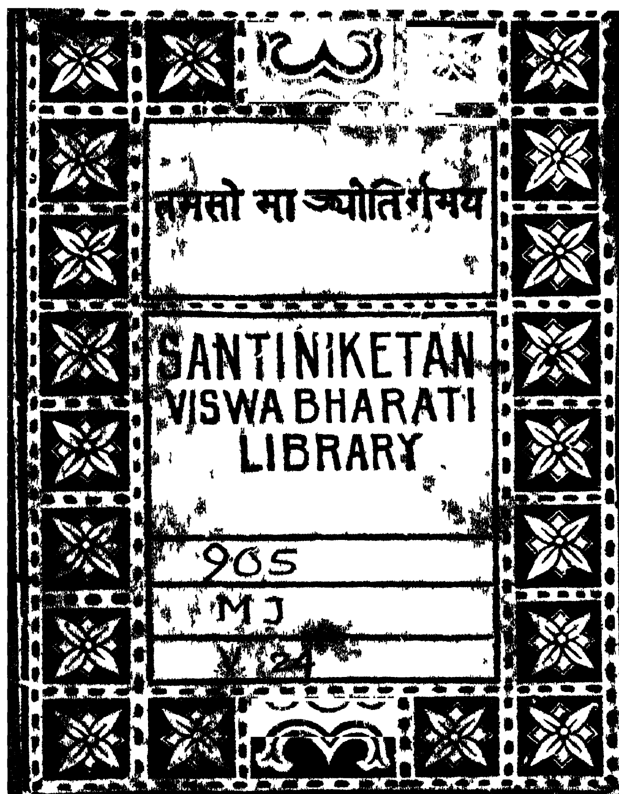

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ARTICLES

AUTHORS

REVIEWS

NOTES

CORRESPONDENCE

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IS THE ADVAITA OF ŚANKARA BUDDHISM IN DISGUISE?

BY G. V. BUDHAKAR, B.A. (HONS.)

AN old charge against the Advaita of Śankara is that it is simply Buddhism in disguise. It is, therefore, the duty of sympathetic and impartial scholars and critics to examine the position attacked and reinstate, if possible, the Vedānta of Śankara in its pristine purity. Even scholars like Dāsagupta and Rādhākrishnan have fallen into the same undesirable groove. The first observes, in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, " I am led to think that Śankara's philosophy is largely a compound of Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda Buddhism with the Upaniṣadic notion of the permanence of self superadded." Rādhākrishnan has followed suit with this statement that, " The Advaita Vedānta philosophy has been very much influenced by the Mādhyamika doctrine." The time, therefore, seems almost ripe when a clear note of warning should be sounded to all sincere students of the Vedānta.

In dealing with this subject, six points are to be taken into consideration :—(1) Was there any Upaniṣadic support

for the Vedānta of Śankara ? (2) Was there any tradition or literature in support thereof handed down to Śankara ? (3) What original part did Śankara play as compared with his predecessors ? (4) Did Advaitic dialectic owe its origin to dissenting and heterodox schools ? (5) What are the points of similarity and difference between the Advaita and the two schools of Buddhism, *viz.*, the Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda? (6) Have the Buddhists levelled this charge against Śankara or is there any other interested party that is responsible for it ?

Let us take up the first two points. That there was sufficient Upaniṣadic support for the Advaita goes without saying when we examine the passages like नेति नेति, मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्, etc. These cannot be explained otherwise, if one has to face philosophical facts squarely and boldly.* All the Upaniṣadic passages can be broadly divided into two lines of thought: some which favour absolutism and others which support pantheism or ideal theism. The first is called the निर्गुणब्रह्मवाद and the other सगुणब्रह्मवाद. The first presupposes absolute unity, while the other is dualistic in outlook and supports unity in diversity. The first, headed by Yājñavalkya and others, was for the select few who took the highest philosophical standpoint; while the other was thought useful for theistic purposes of the masses as a step to the first. The latter deals with objective and relative reality. In the modern methods of research, it is often forgotten that Indian philosophy is wedded to religion. We take them as disconnected dogmas and try to father uncertainty or contradiction on original authors. We forget the grand and graded synthesis which makes room for every one according to one's ability, beginning from a novice to one who has reached the sublime height in religion. Sometimes, we take any one of these views, shorn off from the context or that which has fascination for us and begin to exalt it at the cost of everything else.

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* Those who are more interested in this question should read *The Doctrine of Māya*, by P. D. Shastri.

We find the two views in the *Bhagavat Gītā*, the masterpiece in the Purāṇa-Itihāsa literature. The Nirguna Brahma in 12. 3-5, the Māyāvāda in 15. 3, and the Brahma Ātmavāda in 13. 2, 18. 61 are referred to by it. These are unmistakably absolutistic passages and there are many more. But, theism is more outstanding because the passages supporting it outnumber those which favour absolutism. As the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas do not mainly differ from the *Bhagavat Gītā* as far as their philosophical outlook is concerned, it is not necessary to deal with them separately. These works are meant particularly for the masses (स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनाम्). Absolutism as it is not meant for them is not so prominently worked out with clear-cut idealistic or negative phraseology, as is seen in the Upaniṣads like the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka.* We come across it in the minor Upaniṣads like the *Maitrāyanīya* and *Śvetāśvatara.* The *Sūtasamhita* and *Śrīmat Bhāgavata* treat it. The former work was the basis for the commentary of Śankara on the *Brahma Sūtras*, according to the tradition prevailing in the South. The following verse refers to it:—

तामष्टादशधा कृत्वा शंकरः सूतसंहिताम् ।
चक्रे शारीरकं भाष्यं सर्वश्रुतिमनोहरम् ॥

Scholars are doubtful about the date of the *Bhāgavata.* But, light comes from an unexpected quarter. The Nāndi Sūtra of the Jains refers to the Purāṇas in general as "Purāṇam". So does the *Anuyogadvāra.* The fourth Chheda Sūtra actually refers to the number eighteen of the Purāṇas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 297). These three Sūtras are not later than 454 A.D., because Divardhigaṇi, who redacted the Jain canon, knew them. It seems that the wide popularity of the *Bhāgavata* must have made the Nāndi Sūtra refer to it, particularly side by side with the other Purāṇas. Besides, the two verses (1. 6. 25; 1. 8. 52) from it are quoted by Māṭhar in his commentary on the *Sānkhya Kārika* (verses, 51, 2 respectively; Chowkhambhā Sanskrit Series No. 296). This Māṭhar is alluded to by the Nāndi Sūtra. Relying on these two evidences, one cannot accept the argument that many of the

Purāṇas are later than Śankara because he rarely quotes from them. Śankara was mainly concerned with the Śruti. To the Purāṇa-Itihāsa literature he gave secondary importance. On account of this reason, he does not refer to them so often as Rāmānuja and others do. Again, the assertion that the *Bhāgavata* is not quoted by anybody prior to 1100 A.D. does not hold good, because Abhinavagupta (1000 A.D.) mentions it in his *Bhagavat Gītā* commentary (14. 8, Nir. Säg. Edn. with eight commentaries). Its first Hindi translation by Bhuali appeared in 943 A.D. The *Mahābhārata* in 18. 6. 97 refers to the eighteen Purāṇas. The *Bhāgavata* comes after it, as it says in the introduction. From its own words, therefore, we can say that it cannot be included in the eighteen major Purāṇas or that it, the present edition, is the redacted copy of the original referred to by the major Purāṇas. But, one fact is certain that it has surpassed all the major or minor Purāṇas, as far as its excellence and grandeur are concerned. It seems that the *Bhāgavata* and *Sūta Samhita* were composed in the circles in which philosophical interest was active. It is not, therefore, unnatural if we find many of the negative and idealistic phrases in them.*

The *Vedānta Sūtras*, which wanted to systematise the teaching of the Upaniṣads as understood by almost all the orthodox commentators, could not ignore this two-fold necessity. First, they took their stand on the Brahma Pariṇāmavāda and answered all the other adversaries who followed the different types of Pariṇāmavādas and other theories. Then, they pushed the inquiry a little further and maintained absolutism as the highest truth.

In the *Dharma Sūtras* and *Smṛtis* like those of Āpastamba and Yājñavalkya, we find such passages as the following which are purely Advaitic :—

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* As regards the *Bhāgavata*, this point is fully treated by D. K. Shastri (*Purātattva*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1983 V.S.), and Y. V. Kolhalkar in his *Bhāgavatādarsha* in Marāthi (pp. 456-460). Mm. Abhyankar Shastri has given all the passages from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to support the Advaita in his *Advaitāmoda* (pp. 152-62 and 130-34 Āna. Āsh. San. Series).

स इंद्रियैर्जगतोऽस्य ज्ञानादन्योऽनन्यस्य ज्ञेयात् ।

आ. ध. सू. 1. 22. 2. 10.

आकाशमेकं हि यथा घटादिषु पृथक् भवेत् ।

तथात्मैको ह्यनेकश्च जलधारेष्विवांशुमान् ।

या. स्मृ. 3. 134.

Jaina sources also furnish some information to the same effect. The *Sūtrakritānga* (400–300 B.C.) has the following references:—1. 1. 1. 9; 2. 6. 47–48. The first refers to मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् and the other raises the objection against One Single Soul that it cannot account for the diversity in the world. The passage 1. 1. 3. 8 of the same is purely theistic, because it refers to Brahma or Prajāpati as the creator. Similarly, the *Sthānāngasutta* of the same period in 8. 3. 607 refers to the Ekavādins, who believe in One Supreme Soul as the first cause and the Anekavādins, who believe in One Supreme Principle manifesting itself in several principles. The *Tatvārthasūtra Tika* by Umāsvati (78 A.D.) repeats the objection raised by the *Sūtrakritānga* in 2. 6. 47–48. This occurs in 5. 29, p. 131 of it (Biblo. Indi. Ser.). Siddhasena Divākar, who flourished long before 550 A.D., mentions the Advaita and has culled out passages from the Upanisads in his Dwātrinshat-dwātrinshikā ch. 9, the *Vedavāda-dwātrinshikā* (Bhāvanagar Edn.). Pūjyapāda (550 A.D.) whom K. B. Pāṭhak assigns to the latter part of the fifth century A.D. refers to the Vedāntins in his *Sarvārthasiddhi*. The allusion which is in his commentary on the *Tatvārthasūtra* runs thus:—

तत्त्वमेकत्वं इति वा सर्वैक्यग्रहणप्रसंगः । पुरुष एव इदं सर्वं इत्यादि केश्चित्कल्प्यते । (त.सू.स.सि. 1. 2. p. 4). रूपादीनां एकं कारणं अमूर्तम् नित्यं इति केचित्कल्पयन्ति (*ibid.*, 1. 32, p. 77, Kolhāpur Edn.). The annotator says that these are the views of the Vedāntins. This Pūjyapāda in his *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* refers to Shrīdatta, Yashobhadra, Bhūtibali, Prabhachandra, Siddhasena and Samantabhadra, as his predecessors (*Ind. Ant.*, Octo. 1914). Samantabhadra, according to S. C. Vidyābhūshan (*Indian Logic*), flourished in 600 A.D. But, sufficient reasons are not given there for

this date. This Samantabhadra in his *Āptamīmāmsa* refers to the Vedānta thus :—

अद्वैतैकान्तपक्षेऽपि दृष्टो भेदो विरुध्यते ।
कारकाणां क्रियायाश्च नैकं स्वस्मात्प्रजायते ॥ 24 ॥

Vidyānanda, while commenting on this, calls this view the Brahmādvaita. We shall refer to him later on. Another commentator Akalankadeva who preceded Kumārila explains the verse, without alluding to any view. But, in his *Tattvārtharājavārtik*, he refers to the Vedānta as :—

ज्ञानादेव मोक्ष इति चेदनवस्थानादुपदेशाभावः—त.रा.वा. 1. 2. 11.

Haribhadrasūri in his *Shāstravārtāsamuchchaya* (verses 544-45) and *Yōgabindu* (verses 512-22) refers to the Vedānta as the Advaita or Puruṣādvaita. In the commentary on the latter by himself, the criticism runs thus :—

"वेदान्तिकप्रतिपन्ने बद्धमुक्तयोरविशेषात् अनानात्वात् । वान्ध्येयभेदोपवर्णनकल्पं" इत्यनुवर्तते ।

In the former work, he quotes the following verses :—

यथा विशुद्धमाकाशं तिमिरोपप्लुतो जनः ।
संकीर्णमिव मात्राभिश्चित्राभिरभिमन्यते ॥ 544 ॥
तथेदं अमलं ब्रह्म निर्विकारमविद्यया ।
कलुषत्वमिवापन्नं भेदरूपं प्रकाशते ॥ 545 ॥

These two verses are quoted by Vidyānanda in his *Aṣṭasāhasrī* (p. 93, Nir. Sāg. Edn.) and also by Prabhachandra in his *Pramcyakāmalamārtānda* (p. 12, first half, Nir. Sāg. Edn) Kamalaśila, while criticizing the *Śabdādvaita* of Bhartṛhari in his Panjika on *Tattvasangraha* (Gaek. Orie. Seri., Vol. I, p. 72), quotes them. The author of *Vyāsatātparyanirṇaya* ascribes them to Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadiya* (p. 32, Vāṇi Vilās Edn.). Sureśvara in his *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika* (Āna. Āsh. Series, Vol. III, p. 1246, 3. 5) quotes them.

All these are the Jain references, which mention the Vedānta from 400 B.C.—800 A.D. The *Sūtrakritānga* gives both absolutism and theism. But all the later authorities generally refer to the first only, as will be seen from the criticism which they advance against it. No theistic or Pāncarātric view is given.

Buddhism also supplies us with similar references. In the *Suttapitaka* of the Hinayāna, the Ātmavāda is condemned as one of the heresies. It cannot be said that the Vedānta was not the victim of these polemics. The authorities have not taken special care to name the followers of the particular view as remarked by Rhys Davids (*American Lectures*, 1896, pp. 31-37). Turning to the Mahāyāna, we come to three books, *viz.*, the *Lankāvatārasūtra, Buddhacharita* and *Lalitāvistāra.* The first gives the following references :—

(*a*) तत्र विकारानित्यता नाम यदुत रूपस्यान्यथाभूतदर्शनं न भूतानां सुवर्णसंस्थानभूषणविकारदर्शनवत् । न सुवर्णं भावात् विनश्यति किन्तु भूषणसंस्थानविनाशो भवति । Ch. 3, p. 208.

This is nothing but मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्, *i.e.*, the Māyāvāda.

Again, the Parabrahma and Ātmā are alluded to while rejecting the permanent Entity in the lines:—

निष्ठाभावः परं ब्रह्म एतां मात्रां वदाम्यहम् ॥ 26 ॥
प्रज्ञप्तिसत्यतो ह्यात्मा द्रव्यसन्नहि विद्यते ॥ 27 ॥

(Ch. 3, p. 153 ; and Ch. 10, p. 325, vv. 480-81.)

ज्ञानादेव मुक्तिः this view also occurs in Ch. 3, pp. 183-84, v. 68 as ज्ञानेन चान्ये.

(*b*) प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरकालानुप्रवादाः ।

(Ch. 2, p. 39.)

अणुप्रधानेश्वरप्रजापति प्रभृतयः ।

(Ch. 10, p. 309, v. 345 ; Ch. 3, p. 197, v. 85.)

प्रधानेश्वरपुरुषकालाणुप्रत्ययेभ्यः ।

(Ch. 2, p. 103, v. 165.)

Here, Prajāpati or Puruṣa is certainly theistic, because the Sāṅkhya view is referred to as :—

द्विविधः सांख्यवादश्च प्रधानात्परिणामकम् ।

(Ch. 10, v. 803, Bunyiu Nanjio's Edn.)

The *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghoṣa gives only the absolutistic Vedānta :—

अध्यात्मकुशलेष्वान्यो निवर्त्यात्मानमात्मना ।
किञ्चिन्नास्तीति संपश्यन्नाकिञ्चन्यः इति स्मृतः ॥ 63 ॥
ततो मुञ्जादिषीकेव शकुनिः कञ्जरादिव ।
क्षेत्रज्ञो निस्सृतो देहान्मुक्त इत्यभिधीयते ॥ 64 ॥

एतत्तत्परमं ब्रह्म निर्लिङ्गं ध्रुवमक्षरम् ।

यन्मोक्ष इति तत्त्वज्ञाः कथयन्ति मनीषिणः ॥ 65 ॥

This is the Brahmātmavāda of the Vedānta. In *Lalitāvistāra* occur both the views:—

(*a*) ते तत्त्वतोऽर्थरहिताः पुरुषं वदन्ति ।

व्यापिं (व्यापिनं) प्रदेशगतं शाश्वतमाहुरेके ॥ 3 ॥ (Absolutistic.)

(*b*) नित्यमनित्यमिति चात्मनि संश्रयद्भिः ।

मोक्षं च देशगमनास्थितमाश्रयद्भिः ॥ 2 ॥ (Theistic.)

(Ch. 21, p. 428, Biblo. Indi. Series, R. L. Mitra's Edn.)

All these three works are roughly assigned to 100 A.D. Āryadeva, the disciple of Nāgārjuna (200 A.D.), refers to the absolutistic Vedānta in his *Chatuśśataka* thus:—

आत्मैव यदि निर्वाणं ज्ञानं पूर्णं भवो भवेत् ।

तदभावे हि संसारे भावनाऽपि न विद्यते ॥ 23 ॥

नरेषु दुःखमुक्तेषु परो नाम न विद्यते ।

सर्वथाऽऽत्मक्षयः तेन श्रेयानित्यभिधीयते ॥ 24 ॥

वरं लौकिकमेवेदं परमार्थो न विद्यते ।

लौकिके विद्यते किञ्चित्परमार्थो न विद्यते ॥ 25 ॥

(नित्यार्थप्रतिषेधे, Ch. 9, vv. 201-25.)

सर्वगः केन चिद्दृष्टो (आत्मा) ॥ 18 ॥

(आत्मशक्त्युपायसंदर्शने,
Ch. 10, v. 243, P. L. Vaidya's Edn., Paris.)

Prior to or coeval with the same period, flourished Shattan, the author of *Maṇimenkalai*. In this work occur the following lines:—

The Brahmavādi told her that the universe is the outcome of one egg brought forth by the Supreme Being Brahma (through Māya).

(Ch. 27, p. 192, Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Edn.)

The translation, as it stands, seems to be faulty. "Through Māya" or some such words should be supplied as we have done; otherwise, the word Parabrahma does not fit in as creation cannot be directly assigned to it according to the Vedāntic view, *viz.*:—

यस्माद्वियदादि विश्वमखिलं जातं च मायामयं ।

From Japan, we get some light on this subject.

"Thus both in name and doctrine the *Intelligence School* of the Chinese approaches most closely to the school of the Vedānta (also called Uttaramīmāmsa) for which the chief authority is Bādarāyaṇa. Its first principle is the *unity of the Self and the Brahma.*"*

During the first half of the eighth century A.D. flourished Shāntarakshita, the last great Buddhist thinker, who took a review of all the then philosophical schools in India in his *magnum opus* called *Tattvasangraha.* His direct disciple Kamalaśīla expounded his master's principles by writing a voluminous commentary on it. This joint work throws much light on the then philosophical history. In this work is the following reference:—

(*a*) Theistic:—

अन्य इत्यादिना वेदवादिमतमुपक्षिपति :—

अन्ये त्वीशसधर्माणं पुरुषं लोककारणम् ।
कल्पयन्ति दुराख्यातसिद्धान्तानुगबुद्धयः ॥ 153 ॥
समस्तवस्तुप्रलयेऽपि अलुप्तज्ञानशक्तिमान् ।
ऊर्णनाभ इवांशूनां स हेतुः किल जन्मिनाम् ॥ 154 ॥

(*b*) Absolutistic:—

अपरेऽद्वैतदर्शनावलंबिन श्चौपनिषदिकाः क्षित्यादिपरिणामरूपनित्यैकज्ञानस्वभाव-मात्मानं कल्पयन्ति :—

नित्यज्ञानविवर्तोऽयं क्षितितेजो जलादिकः ।
आत्मा तदात्मकश्चेति संगिरन्तेऽपरे पुनः ॥ 328 ॥

अपरे इति औपनिषदिकाः

This is nothing but the Ātmavāda criticized in the Hīnayāna Suttas.

These are the Buddhistic references to the Vedānta from the Mahāyāna school from 100 A.D. to 800 A.D. In the *Lankāvatārasūtra,* the different philosophical schools are thus enumerated:—

सांख्या वैशेषिका नग्ना स्तार्किका ईश्वरोदिताः ।
(Ch. 10, v. 723.)

Again:—

सांख्या वैशेषिका नग्ना विप्राः पाशुपतास्तथा ।
(Ch. 10, v. 627.)

* P. 13, *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan,* by Sadajiro Sugiura.

In these lines, there are the Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Jainas, or Nagnas and Naiyāyikas (Vipras or Tārkikas) as well as Pāśupatas (Īśvaroditas). But the Vedānta, as a school, is absent though to its view we have already referred. Similarly, in *Lalitāvistāra* (Ch. 12, p. 179), Milindapanha *alias* Bhikshusūtra (about 100 A.D., pp. 3-4, Trenckner's Edn.), the Nāndi Sūtra (p. 4 *supra*), and the Bhagavati Sūtra (400 B.C., Ch. 2. 1), there is no allusion to the Vedānta where it is necessary. Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamika Kārika*, *Vigrahavyāvartani* and *Upāyahridaya* is silent on this point His disciple Āryadeva follows him in his *Śataśāstra* though he gives the view in his *Chatuśśataka*. Vasubandhu in his *Abhidammakośa* and *Vijnāptimātratāsiddhi* does not speak anything. His commentator Sthiramati does not throw any light. Chandrakīrti, the commentator of the *Mādhyamika Kārika*, mentions the following teachers :—

जैमिनिकणादकपिलादितीर्थंकर

(P. 159, ll. 7-8 ; p. 441, l. 6, Biblo. Budhic. Edn.)

But, Bādarāyaṇa is absent. On account of this want of any allusion to the Vedānta as a school, some scholars jump to the conclusion that it did not exist prior to Śankara. We will deal with this point later on. But it is sufficient here to say that the Vedāntic view can be traced back to the fourth century before Christ both from Buddhistic and Jaina sources. Even Bādarāyaṇa, supporting the view of Śankara, is shown to be referred to by the Japanese source. If the objection is meant for being driven against the Vedāntins, whose view Bādarāyaṇa does not support as the theists suppose, it is futile. The theists are equally in the same boat because, when there is no reference to Bādarāyaṇa, one cannot say that the theistic Vedānta could have existed. Words like Vedānta, Uttaramīmāmsa, Brahma Sūtras, and Bādarāyaṇa nowhere seem to occur. In that case, the theists and other scholars, who have assigned 200 B.C. as the probable date for the *Vedānta Sūtras*, will have to be rejected. Thus, they will be untrue to their own theories.

The scarcity of allusions to the Vedānta, in some of the works to which they refer, is possibly due to three reasons.

It may be that Ātmavāda, another name for the Māyāvāda, attacked in the Hīnayāna suttas was too well known to need any philosophical or sectarian allusion. It was possibly considered to be the highest Upaniṣadic view. The same thing must have been observed in the Mahāyāna which criticized the realists like the Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, and Jainas. Again, it may be that Buddhists had a divided house. Some of the Buddhists were busy in explaining their own tenets only as observed by N. Dutt* and by D. T. Suzuki.† The allusion to the Vedānta and other non-Buddhistic schools can be expected in a work like that of Āryadeva or Shāntarakshita who, besides explaining their own tenets and attacking one another from among themselves, are equally busy with treating and examining non-Buddhistic systems in detail from their own standpoint. Such a reference to the Vedānta has already been shown. Besides in "The explanation of Nirvāṇa by Hīnayāna and heretical schools mentioned in the Lankāvatār Sūtra" of Āryadeva, twenty heretical schools are examined. The *Yogāchārabhūmiśāstra* by Maitreyanātha and *Prakaranāryavāchāśāstra* by Asanga refute thirteen and eighteen heretical schools respectively. They are in Chinese. If these schools are identified, it is likely that a reference to the Vedānta might be expected.‡ But from the insufficient material at our disposal, it is not possible to dogmatise over the absence of any allusion to the Vedānta as a school.

To continue the reference to Vedic sources after Yājñavalkya (p. 6), we come to Śabar who, in his commentary on the Pūrvamīmāmsa (1.1.5) after examining all the other theories, accepts and establishes the Neti-Neti-Vāda, *i.e.*, Māyāvāda as the highest philosophical view, which is nothing but the Vedānta pure and simple:—

अथाऽपि ब्राह्मणं (बृ. आ. उ., 6. 7.) भवति । अत्रायं पुरुषः स्वयं-ज्योतिर्भवति । केन पुनरुपायेनऽयमन्यस्मै कथ्यते इति । तत्रापि उपाये ब्राह्मणं

* *Ind. Hist. Qua.*, Vol. V, p. 814, 1929.

† In his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 94.

‡ *Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna* by Kimura, pp. 21-25.

भवति (बृ. आ. उ., 6. 3.) । स एष नेति नेत्यात्मेति होवाच । असौ "एवं रूपः" इति न शक्यते निदर्शयितुम् ।

(P. 69, Āna. Āsh. San. Series.)

Śaṅkara had in his mind this very reference when he referred to Ācārya Śabarasvāmin in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* 3. 3. 53. Similarly, Padmapāda, his direct disciple, in his commentary on the same work observes thus:— तथा च विधिवृत्तमीमांसाभाष्यकारोऽपि उत्सूत्रमेवात्मसिद्धौ पराक्रान्तवान्. There seems to be some difference of opinion about the date of Śabara. Some take him back to 56 B.C., while others bring him down to 500 A.D. Vātsyāyana (100 A.D.), in his commentary on the *Nyāya Sūtras*, has the following remark.— सर्वं एकं सदविशेषात् (न्या. सू. भा. 4.2.40). On this Vācaspati says, "तत्र प्रथमं ब्रह्माद्वैतं उत्थापयति." By this, he means the Vedānta proper. The Māṭhar Vṛtti on the *Sāṅkhya Kārika* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa speaks about the Vedānta thus:—

इह केचिदाचार्याः वेदवादिन इति मन्यन्ते । —एकोऽयं पुरुषः सर्वशरीरेषूपलभ्यते मणिसूत्रवत् । इह रसनायां यावन्तो मणयस्तेषु सर्वेष्वेकमेव सूत्रं प्रवर्तते । एवं मणिभूतेषु शरीरेषु किमेकः सूत्रभूतः परमात्मा । आहोस्वित् जलचन्द्रवत् । पुरुष इति एक एव बहुषु नदीकूपतडागादिष्विवोपलभ्यते इति." p. 31, का. 17. Again on p. 75, का. 61 he says, "एवं पुरुषो द्रष्टव्यः". In both these extracts, the Brahmātmavāda is criticized. Here as well as on p. 4, this Māṭhar is referred to. The present edition of his Vṛtti is alleged by many* to be full of interpolations. But our position is not in the least affected, because we have adduced many other earlier and later evidences to prove our case. Again, the date of the *Bhāgavata* is based on the Nāndi Sūtra because it refers to it. Skāndasvāmin (600-650 A.D.) in his *Nirukta Teeka* refers to both Absolutistic and Theistic Vedānta thus:—

सा च सत्ता कैश्चित्परमात्मत्वेनाध्यवसिता । "स एष महानात्मा सत्तालक्षणः", 'तत्परं ब्रह्म' इति ब्रह्मवादिभिः । · · · · · · भेदाभेदाभ्यामनिर्वचनीयः ।

(P. 27, Absolutistic.)

ब्रह्म ह्येवऋग्यजुःसामलक्षणमपरं जगतः कारणं · · · · · · ।

(P. 73, Theistic. Sarup's Edn., Lahore.)

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* *J.R.A.S.*, July 1931, *Māṭhar and Paramārtha*; *Gaudapādā's Bhāshya and Māṭhar Vritti* (Allaha. Uni. Series, Vol. VII, pt. I, pp. 371-432, 1931).

Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadiya*, has the following lines in his work:—

यत्र द्रष्टा च दृश्यं च दर्शनं चापि कल्पितम् ।
तस्यैवार्थस्य सत्यत्वं आहुः त्रैय्यन्त (वेद+अन्त) वादिनः ॥

This unidentified quotation is from *Vyāsatātparya Nirṇaya* (p. 30). The date of Bhartṛhari is about 650 A D. In the *Harṣacharita*, Bāṇabhaṭṭa (prior to 650 A.D.) says:—

संसारासारत्वकथनकुशलाः ब्रह्मवादिनः (Ch. 5, par. 34, p. 101 and) औपनिषदाः (Ch. 8, par. 5, p. 220, Gajendragadakar's Edn.)

This is nothing but the Māyāvāda of the Upaniṣads.

In *Śukranīti*, occurs the following allusion:—

ब्रह्मैकमद्वितीयं स्यान्नाना नेहास्ति किञ्चन ।
मायिकं सर्वमज्ञानाद्भाति वेदान्तिनां मतम् ॥ 49 ॥

(Ch. 4, Sect. 3.)

There seems to be some difference of opinion as regards the date of this work. K. P. Jayaswal assigns it to 800 A.D.; while Pradhān takes it back to 400 A.D., *i.e.*, after Kāmandak (350 A.D.), the author of *Nītisāra* (*Mod. Rev.* 1916, Vol. I, p. 675). It would not, therefore, be wrong if Śukra were taken to be prior to Śankara. Prabhākara and Kumārila (700-788 A.D.) mention the Vedānta thus:—

इत्याह नास्तिक्यनिराकरिष्णुरात्मास्तितां भाष्यकृदत्र युक्त्या ।
दृढत्वमेतद्विषयश्च बोधः प्रयाति वेदान्तनिषेवणेन ॥ 148 ॥

(Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*, Ātmavāda.)

By this, he means the above passage of Śabara.

यदि परं ब्रह्मविदामेष निश्चयो यदुपलभ्यते तदसत्यम् । नोपलभ्यते तत् तत्त्वमिति, नमस्तेभ्यः विदुषां नोत्तरं वाच्यम् ।

(P. 30, Prabhākara's *Brihati*. A. S. Bengal Library Manuscript.)

It is generally believed that these two authors had some kind of realistic pluralism in view. But they have formulated it for ritualistic and practical purposes as well as to combat the Buddhist Vijñānavādins and Śūnyavādins. As for the highest philosophical standpoint, they point to the Vedānta. This is clear not only from the passage of *Ślokavārtika* just now quoted but also from Prabhākara's view referred to by *Nyāyaratnāvali* (p. 60, Advaitamanjari Series):—

निष्प्रपंचं ब्रह्मैवात्मा तथापि कर्मप्रसंगे न तथा वाच्यम्। उक्तं हि कृष्णेन भगवता, " न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेत् अज्ञानां कर्मसंगिनामिति," प्रभाकरग्रन्थोक्तेः।

(P. 16, 144 as quoted in "Introduction to Pūrvamīmāmsa".)

As we gathered together all the available Buddhist and Jain references from 400 B.C. to 800 A.D., so have we collected authorities and passages to support our view from the Vedic sources during the same period. It is traditionally believed that Kumārila was the elder contemporary of Śankara, *i.e.* Śankara met Kumārila at the time of the departure of the latter. This is questioned by some scholars, who take Kumārila to the last quarter of 700 A.D. and Śankara to 788 A.D. This was all right before *Tattvasangraha* was not available. There is, therefore, the necessity of revising the old chronology. It is also to be seen how far the traditional contemporaneousness of Kumārila and Śankara is tenable. These questions are not irrelevant to the present subject. We have followed the speculation of modern scholars for what it is worth in all the dates accepted in this essay. Orthodox scholarship is proved to be untrustworthy in this case, while modern scholars agree among themselves to differ even as regards a single point. The question of chronology is, therefore, uncertain. This present attempt will throw some light simply on the relative chronology of Kumārila and Śankara the Vedic leaders, Shāntarakshita and Kamalaśīla, the champions of flickering Buddhism, as well as Vidyānanda and Haribhadra, the upholders of Jainism. For this purpose, we have put the Jain and Buddhist sources between Yājña-valkya and Śabara, so they can be compared.

From Tibetan sources, it is proved that Shāntarakshita flourished from 705 to 762 A.D. His *Tattvasangraha* was composed in 743 A.D. (Introduction, p. xxiii, to *Tattvasangraha.*) The Tibetan translation was made by a Kashmirian scholar Guṇakarśrībhadra, who was a contemporary of King Lalitāditya of Kashmir (693-729 A.D. Vidyābhushan's *Logic*, p. 324). Even allowing for the discrepancy of 25 years in this calculation (Introduction to Stein's English Translation of *Rājataranginī*, p. 66), which some scholars have shown, we

can say that *Tattvasangraha* was ready by 750 A.D. Shāntarakshita quotes one verse in *Tattvasangraha*, pp. 405-406, of Patrakeshari *alias* Vidyānanda from his *Tattvārthaślokavārtika* (p. 205, Nir. Sāg. Edn.). This Vidyānanda refers to the *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika* of Sureśvara in his *Aṣṭasāhasrī* (p. 161, Nir. Sāg. Edn.). Shāntarakshita has directed his attacks mainly against Kumārila. K. B. Pāṭhak has proved that Kumārila criticized both Samantabhadra and Akalankadeva, his commentator.* The Jains say that both Samantabhadra and Siddhasenadivākar flourished in 200 and 400 A.D. respectively. But K. B. Pāṭhak has recently proved that Pūjyapāda's reference to Samantabhadra is an interpolation and that Samantabhadra flourished in the first half of the seventh century.† The Jain view is in R. B. Hirālal's *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in C.P. and Berar* (Introduction pp. x—xiii). But one fact is certain and enough for our purpose that Samantabhadra and Akalanka preceded Kumārila, who is referred to by Sureśvara in his *Taittirīya Upaniṣad Vārtika*. Pāṭhak brings Shāntarakshita down to 800 A.D. so that he can assign all these people to the last quarter of that century.‡ But the date of Shāntarakshita cannot be later than 762 A.D. as stated above and because Haribhadra, who died in 770, refers to Shāntarakshita.§ Besides, his date is strengthened by the Kashmirian and Tibetan sources. Pāṭhak has neither examined these three sources nor has he advanced serious arguments against them. His theory is, therefore, untenable in the present state of affairs. We have also to reject his other theory, which makes Akalanka the contemporary of Śubhatunga *alias* Krishnarāja I in 750 A.D. as supported by Brahmanemidatta.|| The other tradition, which makes him the contemporary of Dharmakirti

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* *Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 212-213.

† *Ann. of the Bhand. Ori. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 149-164, "The Date of Samantabhadra".

‡ *Ann. of the Bhand. Ori. Inst.*, Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 164–65.

§ *Ann. of the Bhand. Ori. Inst.*, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 71-84.

|| *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodaka*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 19, etc., "The Date of 'Haribhadrasuri'," by Jinavijaya.

fits in well with the above calculation. His date of Śankara (788 A.D.) is also to be pushed back to 688 A.D. according to the authorities quoted just now. Similarly, we have to reject the theories, which give earlier dates to Śankara; because in his *Upadeśasāhasri* 18. 142 Śankara refers to Dharmakīrti 650 A.D. and Sureśvara actually quotes verses from his work.* *Upadeśasāhasri* is a genuine work of Śankara; because Sureśvara, his direct disciple, quotes verses from it and ascribes it to Śankara in his *Naishkarmyasiddhi*. Dharmakīrti is said to be the contemporary of Kumārila. In this way, the traditional view which makes Śankara to be the contemporary of Kumārila is strengthened. Thus, all these Vaidika, Jaina, and Buddhist authors lived in the last quarter of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth one. The whole result can be thus shown in the form of a table.

Dharmakīrti and Akalanka
|
Kumārila, Śankara, Sureśvara.
|
Vidyānanda
|
Shāntarakshita and Kamalaśila
|
Haribhadrasūri

As the date of Śankara was oscillating between the two extremes, *viz.*, 688 A.D. and 788 A.D. we had to give the Jaina and Buddhist authors with their works. Now as his date is fixed (688 A.D.—720 A.D.), some of these authors come after him. They, therefore, lose their pre-Śankara historical importance in tracing the history of the Vedānta.

We have been quoting references from various sources to support the Advaitic tradition right up to Śankara. Now it remains to see which independent works there were, *i.e.*, the Advaitic literature prior to Śankara. He refers to many authorities in his works as, "संप्रदायविद्, आचार्य and आगमविद्" and even quotes passages from their works. He accepts the necessity of imparting instruction in this subject traditionally

* *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika*, Ānand. Āsh. San. Series 4. 3. 476, p. 1458.

as an important fact to understand it properly. The passages run thus:—

(1) येरिमे गुरुभिः पूर्वं पदवाक्य प्रमाणतः ।
व्याख्याताः सर्ववेदान्तास्तान्नित्यं प्रणतोस्म्यहम् ॥
(तै. उ. भा., भूमिका.)

(2) सर्वशास्त्रविदपि असंप्रदायविन्मूर्खवदुपेक्षणीयः । (गी. भा. 13. 2.)

(3) अनुकम्पनीया आगमार्थविच्छिन्न संप्रदायबुद्धयः । (बृ. उ. भा. 2. 1. 20.)

In the first passage, he means to say that all the Upaniṣads were commented upon by his predecessors from his line of thought. In the next two is the necessity for traditional instruction. According to the gloss of Ānandagiri on the works of Śankara, one Draviḍācārya is often referred to. In the Māṇḍūkya commentary of Sankara, he is called "आगमविद्" (मा. उ. भा. 2. 32) where the gloss says, "द्राविडाचार्यसंमतिमाह". In the *Chhāndogya* commentary (Ānand. Āshr. Series, 3. 8. 4, p. 145), he figures as "अत्रोक्तः परिहारः आचार्यैः" where the gloss runs:— विरोधपरिहारं द्रविडाचार्योक्तमुपपादयति. In the introduction to the same work (1. 1. 1, p. 1.), he says "ऋजुविवरणं अल्पग्रन्थं इदमारभ्यते" where the gloss has the following remark:—अयं पाठक्रममाश्रित्य द्राविडं भाष्यं प्रणीतम्. From these two references, it seems that Draviḍācārya wrote his voluminous commentary on the Sūtras of Brahmanandi on the *Chhāndogya*. This is clear from *Sankshepaśārīraka*, verses 220-221:—

सर्वं विकारमथ संव्यवहारमात्रं अद्वैतमेव परिरक्षति वाक्यकारः ।
अन्तर्गुणा भगवती परदेवतेति प्रत्यग्गुणेति भगवानपि भाष्यकारः ॥

Here "वाक्यकारः" is Brahmanandi and, "भाष्यकारः" is Draviḍācārya, who had his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* as Śankara notes on 2. 1. 20 of the same as:—अत्र संप्रदायविद् आख्यायिकां सम्प्रचक्षते (Ānand. Āshr. Series, p.297). The gloss remarks: तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यमैक्यपरं तच्छेषः सृष्ट्यादि वाक्यमित्युक्तेऽर्थे द्रविडाचार्य संमतिमाह. That Brahmanandi supports the Vivartavāda or Māyāvāda is clear from the following quotation:—तथा च ब्रह्मनन्दीवर्णिताधिकारिदृष्ट्यपेक्षया षष्ठेऽध्याये (?) विवर्तमेव विदांचकार (*Journal of the Āndhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, January 1931, p. 190). We are not able to identify this quotation. The above extracts

are sufficient to convince that the "वाक्यकार ब्रह्मनन्दी" and "भाष्यकार द्रविडाचार्य" were completely absolutists. Śankara refers to some of his predecessors in *Upadeśasāhasrī* 19. 28; 17. 2; to his preceptor in 18. 233 and to Gaudapāda in 18. 2. Not only did Śankara expound the *Gaudapāda Kārikā* but referred to its author with great respect while quoting it twice:—तथा च संप्रदायविदो वदन्ति (मा. का. 3. 15 quoted in बृ. सू. भा. 1. 4. 14). Again, अत्रोक्तं वेदान्तार्थे संप्रदायविद्भिराचार्यैः (मा. का. 1. 16 quoted in बृ. सू. भा. 2.1.9). In his *Upadeśasāhasrī* (17. 71), he refers to it. In the same work (1. 1. 4), Śankara quotes verses from the Sundarpāndya Vārtika on both the Mīmāmsas.* In his commentary on the *Bhagavat Gītā* (13.13) occurs a quotation which is still not identified:—संप्रदायविदां वचनम्:—अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां निष्प्रपंच्यं प्रपंच्यते इति । Viśvarūpa *alias* Sureśvara in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* quotes a verse, which is still not identified:—

तथान्यैरपि :—यथैकस्मिन्घटाकाशे रजोधूमादिभिर्युते ।
न सर्वे संप्रयुज्यन्ते सुखं दुःखं तथात्मनः ॥ 3. 134

This evidence goes to prove that Śankara had a great support and literature which he has followed. He does not take upon himself the responsibility of chalking out a new path. On account of the ravages of time, a few fragments have survived. But they presuppose older authorities for their support and inspiration. From this, we cannot give the credit of innovating or establishing the Advaita system of philosophy either to Gaudapāda or to Śankara. The current can be traced back to many centuries prior to them as shown above. Many of the references, which we have collected, do not state that the Advaita Vedānta is a personal fancy of any teacher. On the other hand, both the Jain and Buddhist authorities are unanimous in not making any personal reference. They refer to it as the ultimate Vedic or Upaniṣadic view. The main outline of the system was already there.

(*To be continued.*)

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* "Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India," *Jour. of Ori. Res.*, Madras, Vol. I, Pt. I.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 4, p. 503.*)

(*h*) A Few Samasas

(i) *Druta* features are associated with compounds formed with a few Telugu words like *prā̃-ta*, *lē̃-ta*, etc.

When compounds are formed, the final *-ta* (which is really a noun-suffix) is dropped, as in *prā̃-jaduvu* (old education), *lē̃-gommu* (tender branch), etc.

The *ara-sunna* in these compounds represents an old nasal which is characteristic of a number of *guṇavacanas* in all Dravidian speeches in the south. I have discussed this nasal elsewhere in this essay, and I may now content myself with pointing out how the Telugu nasal here is a part of its parental heritage in as much as there are cognate compounds in Tamil showing the nasal before plosives.

Telugu *prā̃-* (old) in compounds structurally corresponds to Tamil *paḻa*[*ṅ*]- (old) in compounds like *paḻaṅ-gaṛi* (old curry), *paḻam-boruḷ* (' old substance,' God), etc.

Telugu *lē̃-* (young) corresponds to Tamil *iḷa*[*n*]- before plosives in compounds like *iḷaṅ-gadir* (tender ray), *iḷaṅ-gâl* (mild wind), etc.

(ii) The *druta* features associated with *kañ-jīkaṭi* (darkness of vision), *pon-dâmara* (gold lotus), *muṅ-goṅgu* (front hem), etc., are due to the final nasal of *kan-n-u*, *pon-n-u* and *mun-* respectively. As their Tamil and Kannaḍa cognates would illustrate, the first two forms presumably had consonantal nasals in final positions: *Cf.* *kaṇ*, *pon* of old Tamil and old Kannaḍa, beside *kaṇṇu* and *ponnu*. Telugu now shows only *kannu* and *ponnu* with gemination of *-n-* and the incorporation of the final *-u*, while an older stage is evidenced by the compounds under reference.

The literary Dialect compared with the popular Speech with particular reference to the *druta n*

[The comparisons indicated below are in no way exhaustive. Salient facts, significant for the illumination of the nature of the *druta n*, alone are given here. We shall see below that the *druta -n* has dropped off in a number of cases, while in others it has either kept itself up or left behind traces of its existence and influence.]

INFLEXIONAL PARTICLES

(i) The accusative ending is generally retained with the incorporation of the enunciative *-u* or *-i* (the latter wherever vocalic harmony operates).

(ii) The datival *-kin*, *-kun* of the literary dialect lose their final *druta n* in the popular speech.

We have already noted how in the literary dialect itself a sort of impermanence was attached to the final *n* here (from very early stages, presumably), as reflected in the optional disappearance of *n* before vowels in *druta sandhi*.

(iii) The literary locative particle *-an* appears without the *druta* in the popular speech ; *-a* (without *-n*) is found in instances like the following :

1. *kâgitâna* < *kâgitamu-n-a* (on paper) ;
   mârgamu-n-a[1] (on the road) ;
   î rôju-n-a (' on this day ' > ' to-day ') ;
   dêśamu-n-a (in the land).
2. In post-positions like the following :—
   andu-n-a (on account of)
   valan-a, *valla* (by)
   côppu-n-a (according to)
   pai-n-a (above)
   cêt-a (by)
   mîd-a (above)
   eduṭ-a (in front of)
   vaipu-n-a (on the side)
   proddu-n-a- (at dawn)

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[1] The *-n-* appearing before *-a* is part of the inflexional augment.

It may be observed here that the most common locative affix in the popular speech is *lô*, as in *iṇṭlô* < *iṇṭilô* (in the house), *baṇḍlô* < *baṇḍilô* (in the cart), *kaḷḷa-lô* [or *kaḷḷa-ḷḷô*] (in the eyes), *ûḷḷô* [or *ûr-lô*] (in the country, village), *vâḷḷalô* (among them), *strîlalô* (among the women).

POST-POSITIONS

Besides the post-positions mentioned above, the popular speech has *tô*, *tôḍa*, *valla* (< *valna* < *valana* < *valanan*) and a number of others. None of these post-positions ordinarily shows the *druta n* in the popular speech; but it is remarkable that in most of them when they combine with the emphatic particle *-ê* so as to form "intimate compounds," the old *-n* appears in the new inter-vocalic positions created by the use of this emphatic *-ê*:

tôḍa-n-ê (immediately when, as soon as), as in *mîru ceppina tôḍanê* (as soon as you told me).

tônê (emphatic form of *tô*) as in *attí udârâśayamu tônê* (with such a generous intention), etc.

veṇṭa-n-ê (immediately after or at the moment that), as in *vâḍu koṭṭina veṇṭanê* (directly at the moment when he struck).

lô-n-ê (emphatic form of *lô*) as in *baṇḍ-lônê paḍukunnânu* (I lay down in the carriage itself).

mîda-n-ê (above) as in *dâni vennu mîda-n-ê* (on its back itself).

We shall see below that in other categories also the *druta n* may appear preserved in the popular speech when new inter-vocal positions arise. So far as the post-positions are concerned, we may also note here that when the *samuccaya -unnu* appears after *lô* (whereby an intimate combination of *lô* and *unnu* is rendered inevitable), the *druta n* of the old *lôn* is preserved inter-vocally between the final of *lô* and the initial of *unnu*: *mâ lô-n-unnu mí lô-n-unnu* (amongst us and you).

(iii) The literary personal pronouns *nên* and *tân* are retained with the incorporation of *-u* (as *nênu* and *tânu*) in the popular

speech. The old *ên* (an alternative for *nên*) has been lost in the modern dialects and in the colloquial.

TENSE-ENDINGS

(i) The past tense type with *-t-* (as in *cêsi-t-in, etc.*) is not found in the Northern Circars, though it is not uncommon in the *râyalaśîma* country. Whenever it is used, the first person singular appears with an enunciative *-i* after *-t-in.*[1]

(ii) Some of the chief contexts in the popular speech, in which the old indefinite tense-types are retained, are the following:

(*a*) *vaccunu* (indefinite third person of *vacc-* 'to come') when preceded by the infinitive, expresses the idea of 'permission': *ceppinâ ceppa vaccunu* (it may even be said, *cf.*, for the meaning, Tam. *śonnâlum śollalâm*); *brâhmaṇâlu kûragâyalu tina vaccunu* (Brahmins may eat vegetables).

(*b*) *tsâlunu* (is enough), preceded by the infinitive:

abhiprâyamu vastê tsâlunâ? (is it enough if the idea is reproduced?)

cf. common conversational *tsâlu* (enough) where the *druta n* disappears.

nĕrcunu (materialises), preceded by the infinitive:

â pani tvaragâ ceyya nêrcunâ? (can one do that work soon?)

(*c*) *telusunu* (is known), as in *â illu mîku telusunâ?* (do you know that house?); *valênu, valê* (is necessary) are forms used after the infinitive in the colloquial: *pô-valênu, pô-valê* or *pôvâlâ,* (it is necessary to go). The corresponding literary form is *valayunu*, the third person indefinite tense of *valayu*.

(*d*) *uṇḍunu* (the indefinite third person of *uṇḍ-* 'to exist'), when used with participles, expresses the idea of something happening:

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[1] The final *-n-i* is also often completely dropped in the mass colloquial of the Ceded Districts: *cf. pôti* (I went). Similarly, in some of the other cases adduced below, where the colloquial retains *-n* (followed by *-u*), the masses often reject the final *-nu* altogether.

bailudêrutû uṇḍunu (would be starting), *veḷḷê uṇḍunu* (would have started).

(*e*) *avunu* (third person indefinite of *ag-* 'to become' is used for 'yes' (*cf.* Tam. *âm*).

(*f*) *erugud-*, the indefinite stem of *erug-* (to know) is used with reference to acquaintance with persons: *âyananu erugudurâ?* (do you know him?); *erugudunu* (I know). In the first person sing. form, the *druta* form is retained with the enunciative *-u*.

(*g*) The same indefinite tense of the type of *koṭṭudun* is employed in complex sentences of the so-called "dignified" varieties of the popular dialect to convey the idea of 'conditional happening' implied in English constructions with 'would', 'would have'—

somm-unnaṭṭayatê, ittunu (if there was money, I would give it) in which *ittunu* is the first person singular indefinite of *icc-* (to give), retained with *druta n* and *-u*.

(*h*) Similarly, in "dignified" compositions of the popular dialect, the other indefinite type (with *-ed-*) is also sometimes used with the meaning 'will'—

eruka-paracedanu (I shall let know).

(*i*) A rare conversational tense formed of the base, the particle *-ê-* and pronominal terminations is supposed to have been derived from the old indefinite tense of the type *koṭṭedan*, etc. This conversational tense implies a certain degree of doubt—*parugetta bôku, paḍêvu* (do not run, thou may'st fall). Here the first and the third person sing. forms retain final *n* followed by *-u*.

Let us note that in all cases where the old *druta* forms are retained in the popular dialect, the enunciative *-u* is incorporated.

OTHER VERB-ENDINGS

(i) The present adverbial participle of the popular dialect does not ordinarily show the old *druta n*, the endings being *-tu* and *-tû*; but the compensatory lengthening of the final vowel in *-tû* is significant in as much as it marks the loss of old *n*.

(ii) The emphatic form of the participle (formed with the particle *-ê*) shows the old *-n* : *snânamu cêstû-n-ê, nâto mâṭlâḍinâḍu,* (even whilst taking his bath, he conversed with me). *Cf.* this with the similar preservation of the old *n* in other categories (post-positions and the infinitive).

(iii) The infinitive (*tumannarthaka*) ending *-an* of the literary dialect loses its *n* in the popular speech ordinarily ; it is, however, retained in cases like the following :

1. Intimate compounds formed with *icc-* (to give, allow), like *râ-n-icc-* (to allow to come), *ceyya-n-icc-* (to allow to be done), *mâna-n-icc-* (to allow to be given up), etc. *nannu rânistâra ?* (will you allow me to come ?).

nênu mâninâ amma mâna-n-ivvadu (even though I renounce it, mother will not allow it to be renounced).

2. Two very familiar and expressive conversational compounds : *pô-n-î* and *kâ-n-î*, which convey delicate nuances. The compounds contain the infinitives respectively of *pô-* (to go, pass) and *ag-* (to become), combined with the imperative *î* of *icc-* (to give, allow). *pônî* (literally *to-go-allow*, 'allow it to go,' 'let that pass') expresses 'consent' or introduces a fresh subject. *kânî* (literally *to-become-allow*, 'allow it to be,' 'let be') might be roughly said to convey the idea of 'Never mind ! all right, let be !'

3. Other intimate phrases where *-n-* is preserved in inter-vocal positions created by the infinitives being followed immediately by words with initial vowels :

Before *akkara-lêdu* : *mîru râ-n-akkara-lêdu* (you to-come -need-not, you need not come).

Before *ârambhinc-* (to begin) (a Sanskrit adaptation) : *ataḍu â pani ceyya-n-ârambhincinâḍu* (he began to do that work), where the *druta n* is preserved in the inter-vocal situation created by the proximity of the final of *ceyya* and the initial of *ârambhinc-*.

A similar *-n-* is kept up in *lêva-n-ett-* (to lift up), constituted of the infinitive *lêva* of *lê-tsu* (to rise) and *ett-* (to lift).

4. The emphatic form of *-gâ*, the infinitive (in popular speech) of *ag-* (to become) appears as *gânê*, when combining

with the emphatic particle *-ê*: *nênu râ-gâ-n-ê atadu pôyâḍu* (as soon as I came, he went away).

5. In cases where an infinitive precedes *.êla* (why?): *adi idi ana-n-êla?* (that this to-say-why, 'why say this and that?)

â pani nîvu ceyya-n-êla (why did you do that work?)

Cf. the popular saying: *râya gudda-n-êla, cêya novva-n-êla?* (why beat the stone, and hurt your hand?)

(iii) The literary conditional with *-inan* is not represented in the popular dialect except in one form given below. The literary form with *-inan* does not demarcate the specific ideas of phrases with 'if', 'when', 'after', 'though', etc.; but the popular dialect has different forms to distinguish these ideas; the *druta n* does not crop up ordinarily in any of these colloquial forms:

koṭṭin-aṭṭu (in the manner of striking), *koṭṭin-appuḍu* (when striking), *koṭṭina-tarvâta* (after striking) show the relative participle and *aṭṭu* (such), *appuḍu* (then) and *tarvâta* (after) respectively.

koṭṭa-gâ (on striking) is formed of the infinitive *koṭṭa* and *-gâ*, the infinitive of *ag-* (to become).

koṭṭi-tê (in the event of striking) has the conjunctive participle combined with *tê*, the infinitive of *têcc-* (to bring).

koṭṭinâ (though striking)—this is the structural descendant, in the popular dialect, of the literary conditional with *-inan*. The lengthened final *-â* is compensatory for the loss of old *-n*. This form is used in the popular dialect for (i) conveying the 'concessional' idea, and (ii) expressing the meaning of 'whether-or': *ippuḍu mâninâ, rêp-êna ellunḍ-ênâ pôvalenu* (though now given up, it would be necessary to go to-morrow or the day after) where *mâninâ*, and *-êna* (< *ayinâ*) illustrate the meanings.

(iv) The old optatives of the literary dialect are replaced in the popular speech by forms of one type of the indefinite tense, followed by *-gâka*: the *druta n* is sometimes met with here (see the second illustration below):

tvaragâ kôḍalni tîsikoni vattuvu-gâka (mayst thou soon fetch the daughter-in-law!)

mîku kṣêmam kalugunu-gâka (may you be happy!)

The literary *anantaryâdarthaka* or sequential is also absent in the popular speech which in its stead employs phrasal combinations constituted of the relative participle and *avyayas* like *taruvâta*, *piḍapa*, etc.

THE SAMUCCAYA

The *samuccaya -un* of the literary dialect is represented in the popular speech by *unnu* after final *-a*, *-â*, *-e* or *-u*, and by *-nni* after final *-i* (of the word), the *-i* arising by vocalic harmony; occasionally words with final *-u* also merely lengthen this *-u* for bringing out the *samuccaya* meaning (*cf.*, Kannaḍa *-û*), as in *ataḍû nênû* (he and I).

The lengthening of *-u* is probably compensatory for the loss of *-n* of old *-un*; while *-unnu* (and *-inni*) of the popular speech is perhaps to be traced to the *samuccaya* variant *unun* occurring in old texts, as in Nannaya's use of *adiyunuṅgâka*, *divambunum-bôle*, etc.

AVYAYAS

In regard to *avyayas*, the popular dialect shows a number of forms with a lengthened final vowel instead of the literary *druta n*:

kûḍâ	literary *kûḍan*
tsâlâ	„ *câlan*
dâkâ	„ *danukan*
mîdâ	„ *mîdan*
iṅkâ	„ *îkan*
ninḍâ	„ *ninḍan*
varakû	„ *varakun*

Śrîman Mallâdi S. Śâstri points out (*Śabdânuśâsana*, p. 106) that forms like these in which the elision of *druta n* has lengthened final vowels appear in old literary texts and are distinguished by *śiṣṭa vyavahâra*.

Phonetic Changes in the Colloquial

As to the changes involved in the popular dialect in the use of *druta* forms in sentence-constructions, the following points may be noted :

As the rigidity of the *sandhi* rules of the literary dialect is conspicuous by its absence in the popular speech, all the changes characteristic of the former are not present in the latter ; yet the following would illustrate how the popular speech does not fail to reflect in its forms some of the old changes.

1. Ordinarily, the popular speech does not evidence the voicing of the surds and of the affricate *c* in the neighbourhood of forms corresponding to the old *druta prakṛtikamulu*. In a few instances of "intimate" phrasal compounds, however, the popular speech does show the voicing of surds ; and this voicing has to be ascribed to the influence of the old *druta n* which has disappeared from these forms now :—

(*a*) Passives formed of the infinitive and *paḍ-* : *koṭṭa-baḍ-* (to be struck), *ceppa-baḍ-* (to be spoken), etc. The influence of the old *druta n* of the infinitives may be postulated here for the voicing of *p-* of *paḍ-*.

(*b*) "Intimate" compounds like—

kâ-baṭṭi (therefore)—infinitive *kâ* and *paṭṭi* (from *paṭṭ-* 'to happen', etc.)

lô-baḍ- (to be obedient)—loc. *lô*(*n*) and *paḍ-*

kâ-bôlu (perhaps)—infinitive *kâ*(*n*) and *bôl-* (to resemble)

kâ-bôvu (prospective)—infinitive *kâ*(*n*) and *pôvun*

paḍa-goṭṭ (to thrash so as to fell)—infinitive *paḍa*(*n*) and *koṭṭ-* (to strike)

ceyya-bôku (do not do)—infinitive *ceyya*(*n*) and *pôku* (< *pô-v-aku*)

ceyya-gala (able to do)—infinitive *ceyya*(*n*) and *kalugu*

ceppa-baṭṭi (because of speaking)—infinitive *ceppa*(*n*) and *paṭṭi*

ceyya-boyye pani (work going to be done)—infinitive *ceyya* and *poyye*

2. As already noted under different headings, the old *druta n* is retained before vowels in the popular dialect in inter-vocal contexts cropping up in "intimate" phrases, though otherwise the *druta n* is dropped in the popular dialect (see sections on the post-positions, the infinitive, and the present adverbial participle).

In connection with the *rationale* of the elision in some cases and the preservation in others of *druta n* in the colloquial in the different contexts mentioned in this essay, I would suggest the following perspectives:

(*a*) Final consonantal *n* is impermanent before pauses. Even in the literary dialect, *druta n* is dropped before full pauses. The rigorous *sandhi* rules of literary Telugu do not tolerate too many pauses within a sentence; but in the colloquial, this artificial rigour finds no place, and the pauses caused by breath-groups within a sentence are bound to be numerous. Wherever then the old *druta n* cropped up before these numerous pauses, it should have tended to go to ruin.

Similar cases of the dropping of final consonantal *-n* exist in Kannaḍa and in Tamil:

The first person and the third person singulars of the past and the future tense-forms of mediæval and modern Kannaḍa optionally drop their final *-n*.

In colloquial Tamil the final *-n* of verb-forms like *vandân* (he came), *vandên* (I came) and of pronouns like *nân* (I) or *avan* (he) is either converted to a mere nasalization of the preceding vowel or dropped altogether before pauses.

Cf. also the uniform dropping of final *-n* in forms like *âye* (it became), *vacce* (he came), *aḍige* (he asked) in the Dâsarî dialect of Telugu (*L.S.I.*, IV, p. 601), and the similar elision of *-n* in *pôyâ* (he went), *vinyâ* (he heard), *aḍigyâ* (he asked), etc., in the Vadarî dialect of Telugu (*L.S.I.*, IV, p. 609).

(*b*) Even within breath-groups in a sentence, the old *druta n* had become converted in certain contexts to a half-nasal in the literary dialect at a certain stage in the evolution of Telugu. Half-nasals (of whatever origin) are impermanent

in the extreme, and they have all disappeared completely in colloquial Telugu. This was another reason that contributed to the elision in the colloquial of the *druta* ending.

(*c*) Inter-vocal positions created by intimately attached phrasal compounds prevented, however, the *druta n* from being elided even in the colloquial (see instances given above in the course of this essay).

(*d*) Further, the need for distinctiveness or emphasis of meaning led in some cases to the compensatory lengthening of the vowel standing before the old *druta* sound, even while the impermanent nasal was dropped off (as in certain colloquial *avyayas*, the *samuccaya* and in colloquial forms like *koṭṭinâ* < old literary *koṭṭinan*).

Phonetic Aspects of the changes in the literary dialect

1. The first point deserving of notice in this connection is that the *druta*[1] *n* is consonantal *n*. In every one of the instances we have described above, the literary dialect of Telugu shows the consonantal *n*; and the forms with enunciative vowels, appearing in a few cases in comparatively later stages of the evolution of Telugu, cannot alter the fundamental fact that the consonantal *n* alone can be the pivot of all the peculiar changes characteristic of this class of words.

The history of the south Dravidian speeches shows that *n* is one of the sounds which can stand without any supporting vowel or enunciative in final positions of words. In Tamil, Malayâḷam and Kannaḍa, the sounds *l*, *n*, *r*, *y*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, can stand without enunciatives in final positions. *Cf.*, for Kannaḍa, Sûtra 48 of *Śabdamanidarpaṇa*; for Tamil, Sûtra 78 of *Tolkâppiyam*, *Eḻuttadigâram*; and for Malayâlam, *Kêraḷapâniniyam*, p. 96.

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[1] The word *druta* means 'fleeting', 'impermanent'. The term appropriately applies to the peculiar features of disappearance and phonetic modification characteristic of the consonantal *n* in circumstances which we have referred to at the beginning of this essay. The earliest Telugu grammar describes it as *drutâkhyo naḥ*. That the character of this sound was purely consonantal in its original state will have become clear from the comparisons of the *druta* words with their cognates in other Dravidic speeches. It has also been pointed out recently (*Cintâmaṇi viṣaya pariśodhanamu* by Pandit Chinnarâmaswâmi Śâstri) that the Telugu Bhârata shows only the pure consonant as the *druta*.

In Telugu poetry also, *l* and *r* of the plural endings do occur without enunciatives, *e.g.*, *vanamul* (forests), *vâral* (they), *bhûpâlur* (rulers).

When further we remember that the cognates in other south Dravidian speeches of a large number of cases of Telugu *druta prakṛtikamulu* show consonantal *n* only (or consonantal *l* only), it is not unreasonable to think that the *druta n* of Telugu also was originally the pure consonantal sound unaccompanied by any vowel.

2. The Telugu rule that *druta n* combines with the vowel of words following, is in perfect consonance with the principle prevailing in every south Dravidian speech, whereby the pure consonantal sounds in final positions combine with vowels in *sandhi* contexts.

We may note here that the only cases in literary Telugu where the *druta n* may drop off altogether are (as we have seen above) those occurring in poetry before full pauses, before original voiced plosives, before sounds other than plosives, and those in which the sound was in the earliest stages probably inorganic and impermanent (the final *-n* in the Dative *-kin*, *-kun*, in *iṅkan*, in the *śatrarthaka* termination *-cun*, etc.).

3. The change of *druta n* to the *niṇḍu sunna* and to the *ara-sunna* before plosive and affricate consonants is another important phenomenon connected with *druta sandhi*.

The earliest extant Telugu inscriptions show no *ara-sunna* symbol; but on the other hand, even where the metre requires only *ara-sunna*, the *bindu* or the *samśleṣa* is employed. In the Yuddhamalla[1] Inscription, for instance, the *samśleṣa* symbols are employed for denoting *nd* and *ṇḍ*, while for *ṅg*, *ñj*, *mb* the *bindu* is employed. In the Addanki[2] Stone Inscription the script manifests more or less the same features. The *lipi* shows the *bindu* or *samśleṣa* even where the

[1] *Vide* the pamphlet on "Yuddhamalla Inscription" by J. Ramayya, published by the Ândhra Sâhitya Pariṣad.

[2] *Vide* an article (by Somaśekhara Rao) on this inscription in *Bhârati* (March, 1927).

metrical scheme requires the *mâtrâ* of the syllable to be short. Apparently the sound-value of some of these consonant groups had changed from being fully evaluated (as they originally should have been in an earlier stage of the language) to a condition of *ardhânuswâra* or *ara-sunna* for which, however, a separate symbol had (at the time of these early inscriptions) not begun to be used.

This would show that what is described as *ara-sunna* in Telugu was in many cases (including contexts where the *druta n* occurs in the proximity of plosives in sentence constructions) a fully evaluated *varga* nasal originally. This reconstruction of the evolution of the *ara-sunna* in these contexts is in keeping with the description by Ketana in his *Bhâṣânubhûṣaṇa*, of *ṅ(n)di-palikina pûrnânuswâramu* (fully or forcibly uttered full nasal) and *dêlci palikina ardhânuswâramu* (loosely uttered half nasal).

Though the *ardhânuswâra* or *ara-sunna* is not evaluated in modern enunciation, it is probable that at an earlier stage it had a 'nasalizing value' whereby the immediately preceding vowel was nasalized; and this stage itself was preceded by the earlier stage when the sound had a full nasal value corresponding to that of the plosive with which it formed a consonant group.

All these facts are also independently confirmed by the comparative examination, from a general Dravidic standpoint, of Telugu words containing the *ara-sunna*.

Now, in all south Dravidian speeches, the final nasal of a word appearing before the initial plosives (or affricates) of the immediately following words, in combinative positions, becomes assimilated as the *varga* nasal corresponding to the plosive concerned. *Cf.* the evaluation in Tamil of the plural forms *maraṅgaḷ*[1] (trees), *nilaṅgaḷ* (lands), etc., which are

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[1] The assimilative process has operated further in the corresponding Malayâḷam forms *maraṅṅal, nilaṅṅal; cf.*, further, the Mal. word *payṅṅa* (green arecanut) with its counterpart in Tamil *pay-ṅ-gây* (green fruit) which is a compound.

constituted of *maram, nilam,* etc., and the plural ending *-kaḷ*. For Kannaḍa, *cf.* Sûtra 80 of *Śabdānuśāsana* which states that "*m* and *n* in final positions before plosives optionally become the nasal of the particular *varga*".

For Tamil, *cf.* Sûtra 144 of *Tolkâppiyam, Eḻuttadigâram* (Togaimarapu), which states that nasals before *k, c, t* and *p* generally become *ṅ, ñ, n* and *m*; the principle is reinforced by other Sûtras in the same section.

Further, the combination of the nasal and the surd plosive generally involves in all the south Dravidian speeches the conversion of the surd to the sonant, the exceptions to this general rule being confined to a few instances in the non-Tamil speeches.

Now, all these features are reflected fundamentally in the Telugu *druta sandhi* contexts with which we are concerned. As we have seen, the proximity of the *druta n* to an initial plosive involves the conversion of *n* to a *varga* nasal on the one hand, and on the other to the voicing of the plosive if the latter is a surd.

The only point of difference to be noted between literary Telugu and other Dravidian speeches is that, whereas in other speeches the combinative positions where the finals of one word would combine with the initial plosives of another, are limited, in literary Telugu the changes were regarded as imperative wherever the *druta n* appeared before the initial plosive of other words in a sentence.

This rule, as we have seen above, is far from being so absolute in the popular dialect of Telugu; indeed, the only change (occurring in connection with contexts involving the old *druta n* and plosives) now preserved in the popular dialect is in a few intimately attached compounds where the nasal has been lost but the original surd appears voiced. Probably the absoluteness with which the rule has been prescribed for the literary dialect in every case of the proximity of *druta n* and plosives, was not justified by the actuality of the conditions of the living speech. A certain

undue standardization may have been introduced into the literary dialect in this respect.

Conclusion

The points discussed in this essay may be summed up thus:—

(*a*) Most of the cases of Telugu literary *druta prakṛtikamulu* have cognates in other Dravidian speeches ; the chief cases for which such cognates could not be traced are the third person past form with the ending *-en,* the third person indefinite forms with final *-eḍin* and *-eḍun,* the old optative with final *-edun,* and the sequential with *-ḍun.*

(*b*) .The *druta n* is in most of the instances a part of the heritage directly handed down to Telugu, while some cases appear to have developed in Telugu in the course of its own independent evolution.

In some instances, the *druta n* stands for a very old *samuccaya* which suffered complete or partial discoloration of meaning in the contexts in which it had been employed.

(*c*) The *druta n* was originally consonantal *n* pure and simple.

(*d*) The changes in connection with *druta sandhi* are in the main explicable on the basis of rules of phonetic phenomena generally occurring in all south Dravidian speeches.

(*e*) Though a high degree of standardization is evident in the absoluteness with which the *druta* rules have been prescribed in the literary dialect, the " popular " or " colloquial " speech does not fail to reflect in many contexts the old *druta n* and the changes connected with it in combinative positions.

ŚRĪ VIDYĀ

Part III—Upasana-Krama

Section (3)—Pancadasi and Sodasi Vidyas

BY K. NARAYANASWAMI IYAR

1. Introduction

SAGE DURVĀSA, in his Devī Mahimnā Stotra, prays to Devī as follows :—

पञ्चाशन्निजदेहजाक्षरभवैर्नानाविधैर्धातुभिः ।
बह्वर्थैः पदवाक्यमानजनकैरर्थादिना भावितैः ॥
साभिप्रायवदर्थकर्मफलदैः ख्यातैरनन्तैरिदं ।
विश्वं व्याप्य चिदात्मनाहमहमिति उज्जृम्भसे मातृके ॥

(*a*) *Mātṛkas*—(i) As the Origin of the Universe.—Devī is known as prakāśa-vimarśa or mūlaprakṛti. अ is prakāśa or mūla and ह is vimarśa or prakṛti. Hence, she is अहं or ahantā. It is said :—

अकारः सर्ववर्णाग्र्यः प्रकाशः परमः शिवः ।
हकारोऽन्त्यः कलारूपो विमर्शाख्यः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

अहं was the first spanda of the Supreme. From it originated the mātṛkas from अ to ह. These letters represent the 36 tattvas. अ and the other vowels denote the first tattva and the other 35 letters from क to क्ष represent the 35 tattvas. The coalition of the 15 vowels from अ to अनुस्वार with the visarga is called Śiva tattva which is unmātra or pure consciousness. The consonants of क च प ट त series arise from the vowels अ इ ओ ऋ ऌ being gutturals, palatals, labials, cerebrals and dentals. The other consonants are only developed forms of these consonants. य and श have developed from च; ल and स from त; व is a combination of त and प; and ह is a development of visarga. The consonants that are thus produced from the vowels and are inseparable from them constitute the Śakti tattva. The 25 tattvas, namely, from pṛthvī to puruṣa, owe their origin to the 25 consonants from

क to म, that is, the 5 mahābhūtas, which are from क to ङ; 5 tanmātras from च to ञ; 5 karmendriyas from ट to ण; 5 jnānendriyas from त to न; five tattvas of manas, ahamkāra, buddhi, prakṛti and puruṣa from प to म.

The extra tattvas originate thus: 4 tattvas of rāga, vidyā, kalā and māyā from य र ल व and mahāmāyā, suddhavidyā, Iśvara, Sadāśiva and Śakti from श ष स ह क्ष. The universe is thus an aggregate of the mātṛkas from अ to ह which, in their turn, may be traced to take their source from अ. While अ is the avyakta (the unmanifested), the vyakta (manifested) universe finds its symbolic representation in the letter क्ष which is a combination of क (the developed form of अ) and स (the developed form of visarga) or Śiva and Śakti or Agni and Soma. अहं which is formed by अ (the origin of mātṛkas) being combined with the penultimate vowel अं and the last consonant ह being put between them. It is an epithet of Aghora the Omniscient One and in the essence of Parā Vāk, All-Transcending Word. Parā Trimśika, with Abhinava Gupta's commentary, gives interesting details on these points.

Śiva Sūtra says :—

अतोऽकार हकाराभ्यां अहमित्यपृथक्तया ।
प्रपञ्चं शिवशक्तिभ्यां क्रोडीकृत्य प्रकाशते ॥

(ii) As Parts of Devī's Body :—

Śrī Pṛthvīdharācārya, in his Siddhasārasvata Stotra, says:—

आद्यो मौळिरथापरो मुख इई नेत्रे च कर्णावुऊ ।
नानावंशपुटौ ऋ ॠ तदनुगौ वर्णौ कपोलद्वयं ॥
दन्ताश्चोर्ध्वमधस्तथोष्ठयुगळं संध्यक्षराणि क्रमात् ।
जिह्वामूलमुदग्रबिन्दुरभितो ग्रीवाविसर्गस्वराः ॥

अ and आ constitute the head and face ; इ ई the eyes ; उ ऊ the ears ; ऋ ॠ the vamśaputau ; ऌ ॡ the two cheeks ; ए ऐ the upper and lower sets of teeth ; ओ औ the upper and lower lips ; अनुस्वार the tip of the tongue and विसर्ग the neck.

कादिर्दक्षिणतो भुजस्तदपरो वर्गश्च वामो भुजः ।
टादिस्तादिरथ क्रमेण चरणौ कक्षद्वयं ते पफौ ।
विश्वस्रष्टृहृषीकनाभिहृदयं बादित्रयं धातवः ।
याद्यासप्तसमीरणाश्च सहळक्षार्णाभवन्त्यम्बिके ॥

The क series forms her right arm; च series her left arm; ट and त series her feet; प and फ her arm-pits; ब भ म her hṛṣīka, navel and heart; seven letters य र ल व श ष स the samīraṇas and ह ळ क्ष the three ārṇās.

(b) *Mantra*.—Varivasyā Rahasyā says that the pure vidyā is that whose body is indicated by the vowels, the consonants, three bindus, and three nādās and which is in the form of 36 tattvas as also the one that transcends them. There are four Khaṇḍas in Śrī Vidyā mantra called respectively, Agni, Sūrya, Candra and Kalā. They are also called Vāgbhava, Kāmarāja, Śakti and Turīya Kūtas. Among these four Kūtas, there are three hṛllekhas (hrīm) called granthis (knots) of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra. Jnānārṇava Tantra gives twelve variants of Śrī Vidyā mantra according to the twelve well-known devotees of Devī, *viz.*, Manu, Candra, Kubera, Lopāmudrā, Manmatha, Agastya, Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Skanda, Śiva and Krodha Bhattāraka (Durvāsa). Śrī Vidyā is the mantra *par excellence* which provides the upāsaka with the raft of knowledge that enables him to cross the ocean of māyā and attain mukti from samsāra. It is esoteric and secrecy has always played a prominent part in its instruction as the teacher orally transmits it to the pupil and initiates him into its significance and practices. Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa puts this aspect beautifully in the following:

विद्याहवै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम । गोपाय माशेवधीस्तेऽहमस्मि ॥

(i) Mantra defined.—As already pointed out, the doctrine of mantra is based on the principle of the eternity of sound (śabda). The letters of the alphabet, being the ultimate instruments by which sounds are uttered and thoughts are conveyed and explained, are considered to possess supernatural qualities and to contain in themselves an occult

efficacy. Mantra is so called because it saves him that meditates upon it :—

मननात्त्रायते यस्मात् । तस्मात् मन्त्रः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

The mantra contains the name of a divinity in the dative, is preceded by a bīja and ends in certain words. It is, therefore, said :—देवता मन्त्ररूपिणी, *i.e.*, Mantra is identical with the devatā. As regards bījas, Vatulāgama says :—

देवानां बीजनामानि वर्णास्तत्र प्रकल्पिताः ।
तस्माद्वर्णानि चोक्तानि ज्ञात्वा मन्त्रं समुद्धरेत् ॥

The gods are called bījas of the world and letters of the alphabet are called varṇas, as they are derived from the bījas. A thorough knowledge of the letters is, therefore, necessary for composing the mantras.

तत्तद्देवतानामाभिधानाक्षरमेव । तत्तद्देवतानामङ्गं भवति ॥

Only such of the letters as bear the names of devatās become the limbs of those devatās.

(ii) Gender of Mantras.—A mantra is masculine, feminine or neuter. Masculine mantras end with the words hum and phat; feminine ones may end in either hum or phat; and neuter ones end in namaḥ. Śāradā Tilaka describes them thus :—

पुंस्त्रीनपुंसकात्मनो मन्त्राः सर्वे समीरिताः ।
पुंमन्त्रा हुंफडन्ताः स्युर्द्विठान्ताश्च स्त्रियो मताः ।
नपुंसका नमोऽन्ताः स्युरित्युक्ता मनवास्त्रिधा ॥

According to another authority, all feminine mantras should begin with māyā bīja (hrīm) instead of praṇava (om) and end in svāhā in place of namaḥ. While the name of mantras have reference to male deities, the appellation of vidyās applies to female deities according to Śāradā Tilaka :—

मन्त्राः पुंदेवता ज्ञेयाः । विद्या स्त्रीदेवता स्मृता ॥

(iii) Use of Mantras.—Mantras are used either in pūja or in ceremonies performed to achieve particular objects. They are useless if observed without the prescribed rules of krama, samaya, vidhi and kalpa or practised by one who has not received the initiation (dīkṣā).

2. Pancadasi

Regarding this mantra, it is said in Ṣoḍaśīkārṇava :—

अतः प्रधानविद्येयं त्रिपुरा परमेश्वरी ।
नैतस्याः सदृशी काचिद्विद्या देवेशि विद्यते ॥

Tripurasundarī has sixteen kalās as explained in Vāsanā-subhagodaya. The fifteen parts represent the tithis from darśa to pūrṅimā, the sixteenth part being Sat-Cid-Ānanda. While Ṣoḍaśī represents her sixteen kalās, Pancadaśī signifies only fifteen of them. Some Tantras take sixteen as representing the Nitya Devatās, Tripurasundarī being the aṅganitya and the other fifteen Her anga devatās. It is, therefore, said in the Nirukta :—

एकस्यात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति ।

There is only One Supreme; the other gods are but His limbs.

(*a*) *Its Kūtas.*—Pancadaśī has three Kūtas representing Tripurā :—

आद्यं वाग्भवमुच्चार्य कामबीजं द्वितीयकं ।
कुमार्यास्तु त्रितीयन्तु त्रिपुरा परमेश्वरी ॥

The three divisions are called Agni, Sūrya and Candra Khaṇḍas or Vāgbhava, Kāmarāja and Śakti Kūtas and have the bījas of ऐं क्लीं सौः. There are three hṛllekhas among the Kūtas and Devī is called ह्रींकारपञ्जरशुकी.

(i) Kūtas as Parts of Devī's Body.—These divisions may be considered as parts of either the physical (sthūla) or subtle (sūkṣma) śarīra of Devī. She is, therefore, called मूलकूटत्रयकळेबरा. Vāgbhava represents Her lotus face ; Kāmarāja from Her throat to Her waist; and Śakti from Her waist downwards as expressed in Lalitā Sahasranāma :—

श्रीमद्वाग्भवकूटैक स्वरूपमुखपङ्कजा ।
कण्ठादधः कटिपर्यन्तं मध्यमकूटस्वरूपिणी ।
शक्तिकूटैकतापन्नकाद्य अधोभागधारिणी ।

(ii) Kūtas as Śaktis.—Vāmakeśvara Tantra says that Vāgbhava Kūta represents Vāgīśvarī or Jñāna Śakti ; Kāmarāja, Kāmakalā or Kriyā Śakti and Śakti Kūta, Śiva or Icchā

Śakti. Tripurasundarī is the samaṣṭi of the three Śaktis (शक्तित्रयरूपाढ्या).

वागीश्वरी ज्ञानशक्तिर्वाग्भवे मोक्षरूपिणी ।
कामराजे कामकला कामरूपा क्रियात्मिका ॥
शक्तिबीजे पराशक्तिरिच्छैव शिवरूपिणी ।
एवं देवी त्र्यक्षरीतु महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ॥

3. Sodasi

As the three Kūtas signify the vyaṣṭirūpa (different aspects) of Devī, a fourth (turīya) Kūta is added to the Pancadasī to represent Her samaṣṭirūpa (composite character). It is called Kalā Khaṇḍa and consists of a single bīja श्रीं. Ṣoḍaśī is most ancient, being one of the daśa vidyās. Its upāsana is thus esteemed in Ṛg Veda :—चत्वारईं बिभ्रति क्षेमयन्तः ।

4. Kadi Mata

There are two schools of the Pancadaśī and Ṣoḍaśī Vidyās. Kādi is that which has ka at the beginning and Hādi is that which begins with ha. In Tantrarāja, Śiva tells Devī that Kādi is in Her form and that Śakti confers all siddhis.

(*a*) *Ka as Prajāpati.*—Ka is interpreted as Prajāpati in Taittirīya, Kauśītakī, Tāṇḍya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas.

The famous Rik of कस्मैदेवाय is interpreted as below :—

कस्मैदेवाय । कस्मै काय प्रजापतये देवाय । प्रजापतिर्वा कः । तस्मै हविषा विधेम ॥
To which God ? To whom Kāya, the dative of Ka, applies that is Prajāpati. For Ka is Prajāpati. To Him let us offer our oblations. Kāḷī Vilāsa Tantra says :—

ब्रह्मज्योतिः ककारे च विष्णुज्योतिस्तथैव च ।
रुद्रज्योतिः ककारे च ईश्वरस्य तथैव च ।
ककारे श्रीशिवज्योतिः ककारे च परंशिवः ।
सर्ववर्णेषु बोद्धव्यं ककारमुपलक्षणम् ॥

(*b*) *Ka as Kāma.*—Also in the Ṛg Veda, Kāma (Cosmic Will) is described as the first movement that arose in the One through the power of favour or obstruction. Kāma is even worshipped and is said to be unequalled by the gods.

In the Atharva Veda, Kāma is celebrated as a great power superior to all gods. Tripuratāpanī Upaniṣad says :—

निरञ्जनोऽकामत्वेनोज्जृम्भते । अकचटतपयशान् सृजते । तस्मादीश्वरः कामोऽभिधीयते । तत् पारिभाषया कामः ककारं व्याप्नोति । काम एवेदं तत्तदिति ककारो गृह्यते ॥

Though He is spotless and has no desire, He creates A to Śa; therefore the Lord is called Kāma; and symbolically Kāma is signified by Ka. Surely, Kāma and Tat are meant by Ka.

(c) *Composition of Kādi Vidyā.*—Sage Durvāsa is the reputed head of Kādimata. Sānkhyāyana Śruti explains the Vidyā as below. For sake of secrecy, the letters are given different names which are known to the learned and which are explained in Mātṛka and other Kośas.

कामो योनिः कमला वज्रपाणिर्गुहा हसा मातरिश्वाभ्रमिन्द्रः ।
पुनर्गुहा सकला माया च पुरुव्येषा विश्वमातादि विद्या ॥

(i) *First Kūta.*—It consists of the letters :—

क (कामः)
ए (योनिः)
ई (कमला)
ल (वज्रपाणिः)
ह्रीं (गुहा)

(ii) *Second Kūta.*—It comprises the letters :—

ह, स (हस)
क (मातरिश्व)
ह (अभ्रं)
ल (इन्द्रः)
ह्रीं (गुहा)

(iii) *Third Kūta.*—It is made of the letters :—

स, क, ल (सकला)
ह्रीं (माया)

This is the most ancient (पुरुव्येषा) Kādi Vidyā (विश्वमातादि विद्या).

Varivasyā Rahasyā, with Bhāskara Rāya's Bhāṣya, gives the composition as below :—

First or Vāgbhava Kūta.—

क्रोधीशः श्रीकण्ठारूढः कोणत्रयं लक्ष्मीः ।
मांसमनुत्तररूढं वाग्भवकूटं प्रकीर्तितं प्रथमं ॥

It is made of the letters क् (क्रोधीशः)+अ (श्रीकण्ठारूढः) ; ए (कोणत्रयं); ई (लक्ष्मीः) and ल् (मांसं)+अ (अनुत्तररूढं).

Second or Kāmarāja Kūta.—

शिवहंसब्रह्मवियच्छक्राः प्रत्येकमक्षरारूढाः ।
द्वैतीयं कूटं कथितं तत् कामराजाख्यम् ॥

It consists of the letters ह् (शिव); स् (हंसः) ; क् (ब्रह्म); ह् (वियत्) and ल् (शक्रः) with अ added to each letter (प्रत्येकमक्षरारूढाः).

Third or Śakti Kūta.—

शिवतो वियतो मुक्तं तृतीयमिदमेव शक्तिकूटाख्यम् ॥

The third Kūta is got by deducting (मुक्तं) the two letters of ह (शिवतः and वियतः) from the second Kūta, *i.e.*, it consists of सकल.

Hṛllekhas.—To complete the mantra, three hṛllekhas should be added one after each Kūta.

हृल्लेखानां त्रितयं कूट त्रितयेऽपि योज्यमन्ते स्यात् ॥

The composition of the hṛllekha is thus explained :—

हृल्लेखायाः स्वरूपन्तु व्योमाग्निर्वामलोचनं ।
बिन्द्वर्धचन्द्ररोधिन्यो नादनादान्तशक्तयः ॥

It is made of :—

ह (व्योम) ; रेफ (अग्निः) ; ई (वामलोचनं) and अनुस्वार (बिन्दु) as also अर्धचन्द्र, रोधिनी, नाद, नादान्त and शक्ति.

The latter four, *viz.*, rodhinī, nāda, nādānta and śakti, are brought out only in pronunciation and not in writing.

(*d*) *Meaning.*—Agastya Maharṣi, in his Bhāshya on Pancadaśī mantra, gives the following interpretation :—

(i) *First Kūta.*—क (कनदीप्तौ) signifies that it illumines the buddhi; ए (इक्स्मरण) that it helps adyayana (repetition) of knowledge; ई (ईयते=व्याप्नोति) that the buddhi is enabled to pervade or become all-embracing and ल्हीं (ल्हरीं) that it becomes parokṣa

(esoteric) also. It is the means to dharma the first puruṣārtha and is, therefore, called Vāgbhava. It is of the nature of Ṛg Veda which deals with worship of iṣṭa-devatā and imparts knowledge of ātman. It is the essence of Gāyatrī chandas.

(ii) *Second Kūta.*—ह (हन्यते) means that, by its aid, the tāpatrayas (adhyātmika, adhibhautika and adhidaivika) and the pancabādhās such as enemies and diseases are got rid of; स (सीयन्ते) signifies that, by its help, the upāsakas enjoy (उपभुज्यन्ते) worldly possessions like wealth, conveyance, lands, etc.; ह (हीयते=प्राप्यत) means that, by means of it, one gets all enjoyments (bhogas) and लह्रीं (आधिक्यं) shows that these are got in plenty. By its practice, one gets artha and kāma, the second and third puruṣārthas and is, hence, called Kāmarāja. It is of the nature of Yajur Veda which treats of Karma-mārga. It is the essence of Triṣtup chandas.

(iii) *Third Kūta.*—सकल signifies all tattvas from Śiva to kṣiti and ह्रीं stands for smṛti śakti meaning that all tattvas get absorbed in the One. By its practice, the upāsaka gets mokṣa, the fourth and last puruṣārtha and it is, therefore, called Śakti. It is of the nature of Sāma Veda which deals with nirodha of cittavṛttis (suppression of states of mind) through ānanda (nāda-laya). It is the essence of Jagatī chandas.

(*e*) *Its Identity with Gāyatrī.*—Bhāskara Rāya, in his Bhāṣya on Varivasyā Rahasyā, interprets the Pancadaśī thus:—

सर्वचैतन्यरूपां तां आद्यां विद्यां च धीमहि बुद्धिं या नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

I meditate upon Her the Primeval Cause, Consciousness and the Embodiment of Pancadaśī. May She direct our buddhi. The learned Bhāṣyakāra then identifies the Pancadaśī with Gāyatrī as follows:—

(i) *First Kūta.*—क is तत् (ब्रह्म); ए is सवितुः (योनिः) and it is वरेण्यं (श्रेष्ठं); ई stands for भर्गोदेवस्यधी (सर्वान्तर्यामि सर्वाधारःशिवः); ल is महि (पृथ्वी the composite of five elements) and ह्रीं (ओं) stands for धीयेयोनः प्रचोदयात् (परतत्वविषयकज्ञानजनक).

(ii) *Second Kūta.*—ह (शिव) is तत् (ब्रह्म); स is सवितुः; क is वरेण्यं; ह stands for भर्गोदेवस्यधी; ल is महि and ह्रीं stands for धीयोयोनः प्रचोदयात्.

(iii) *Third Kūta.*—स stands for तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं; क for भर्गोदेवस्यधी; ल for महि and ह्रीं for धीयोयोनः प्रचोदयात्.

(*f*) *The Hṛllekhas and their Significance.*—Śrī Śankarācārya, in his Bhāṣya on Tiiśatī, says that ह्रीं means Jagat utpatti, sthiti and laya, as ह (ākāśa bīja) and रेफ (agni bīja) together signify sṛṣti; ई (Manmatha bīja) connotes sthiti and अनुस्वार represents laya. Hrīm also means, according to Śankara, prakṛti of three guṇas, *viz.*, sattva, rajas and tamas, as ह is white, रेफ is red and ई is nila.

(*g*) *Complete Kādi Vidyā.*—By joining the Kūtas and by adding praṇava (ओं) at the beginning, the mantra is completed and is fit for use. According to Kātyāyana Smṛti, praṇava (ओं) should be used at the beginning and end of the Vedas; during homas and other propitiatory rites; and in every religious act.

(i) *Pancadaśī.*—ओं । कएईलह्रीं । हसकहलह्रीं । सकलह्रीं ।

(ii) *Ṣoḍaśī.*—It is formed by adding the Turīya Kūta of श्रीं to the Pancadaśī and it is as follows:—

ओं । कएईलह्रीं । हसकहलह्रीं । सकलह्रीं । श्रीं ॥

In the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, it is said that the three letters of क and two of ह are of Śiva Bhāga; the remaining letters, *viz.*, ए ई ल स are of Śakti Bhāga and ह्रीं partakes of both Śiva and Śakti Bhāgas.

कत्रयं हद्वयं चैव शैवो भागः प्रकीर्तितः ।
शक्त्यक्षराणि शेषाणि ह्रींकार उभयात्मकः ॥

5. Hadi Mata

Lōpāmudra, the consort of Agastya, is the head of Hadi Mata and Tantrarāja is the best authority of that school.

(*a*) *Its Composition.*—Tripuropaniṣad explains its composition thus:—

षष्ठं सप्तममथवह्निसारथिं । चास्यामूलत्रिकमावेशयन्तः ॥
कथ्यं कविं कल्पकं काममीशम् । तुष्टावांसोऽमृतत्वं भजन्ते ॥

Replacing the first three letters of the Kādi Vidyā, *viz.*, क ए ई by the sixth (ह), the seventh (स), and Vahnisārathi (क), the Hādi Vidyā is got. By praising it as God, the Praiseworthy, the Poet, the Creator and the Love, the upāsaka attains immortality.

Śrī Śankarācārya belongs to this mata and the Śrī Vidyā upāsakas of Kerala are adherents of this school. Śankarācārya beautifully describes the Hādi Vidyā thus in his Saundarya Laharī :—

शिवः शक्तिः कामः क्षितिरथरविः शीतकिरणः ।
स्मरो हंसः शक्रः तदनुच परामारहरयः ॥
अमूहृल्लेखाभिः तिसृभिरवसानेषु घटिता ।
भजन्ते वर्णास्ते तव जननि नामावयवताम् ॥

(i) First Kūta consists of the letters :—

ह (शिवः)
स (शक्तिः)
क (कामः)
ल (क्षितिः)

(ii) Second Kūta comprises the letters :—

ह (रविः)
स (शीतकिरणः)
क (स्मरः)
ह (हंसः)
ल (शक्रः)

(iii) Third Kūta is made of the letters :—

स (परा)
क (मार)
ल (हरिः=इन्द्रः)

By adding ह्रीं at the end of each of the three kūtas (अमूहृल्लेखाभिस्तिसृभिरवसानेषु घटिता), it becomes the śabdamaya śarīra of the Devī and is worshipped as such.

(*b*) *Complete Hādi Vidyā.*—The complete Vidyā, according to Hādi mata, will be as follows :—

(i) *Pancadaśī.*—

ओं । हसकलह्रीं । हसकहलह्रीं । सकलह्रीं ॥

(ii) *Ṣoḍaśī.*—

ओं । हसकलह्रीं । हसकहलह्रीं । सकलह्रीं । श्रीं ॥

(*c*) *Difference in Use between Hādi and Kādi.*—Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, in the following verse in his Saundarya Laharī, shows not only the verbal difference but also the difference in use between Hādi and Kādi Vidyās :—

स्मरं योनिं लक्ष्मीं त्रितयमिदमादौ तव मनोः ।
निधायैके नित्ये निरवधिमहाभोगरसिकाः ॥
भजन्ति त्वां चिन्तामणि गुणनिबद्धाक्षरवलयाः ।
शिवाग्नौ जुह्वन्तः सुरभिघृतधाराहुतिशतैः ॥

6. Japam

(*a*) *Ācamanam, etc.*—The upāsaka should do ācamanam and prāṇāyāma with praṇava or mūlamantra.

(*b*) *Ṛṣyādi Nyāsa.*—Śrī Vidyā Tantra gives the following :—

अस्य त्रिपुरसुन्दरी मन्त्रस्य दक्षिणामूर्ति ऋषिः । पङ्क्ती च्छन्दः । श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दरी देवता । ऐं बीजं । सौः शक्तिः । क्लीं कीलकं । ममाभीष्टसिद्धये विनियोगः ॥

Of this Tripurasundarī mantra, the Ṛṣi is Dakṣiṇāmūrti, metre pankti and devatā Śrīmat Tripurasundarī. Bīja is Aim (Vāgbhava bīja); Śakti is Sauḥ (Śakti bīja); and Kīlaka is Klīm (Kāmarāja bīja); and the use is the attainment of one's desires.

(*c*) *Kara Nyāsa* :—

ऐं अंगुष्ठाभ्यां नमः । क्लीं तर्जनीभ्यां नमः । सौः मध्यमाभ्यां नमः । ऐं अनामिकाभ्यां नमः । क्लीं कनिष्ठिकाभ्यां नमः । सौः करतलकरपृष्ठाभ्यां नमः ॥

(*d*) *Ṣaḍanga Nyāsa* :—

ऐं हृदयाय नमः । क्लीं शिरसे स्वाहा । सौः शिखायै वषट् । ऐं कवचाय हुं । क्लीं नेत्रत्रयाय वौषट् । सौः अस्त्राय फट् ॥

(*e*) *Digbandha* :—

ओं ऐं क्लीं सौरिति दिग्बन्धः ॥

(*f*) *Dhyāna.*—The upāsaka then meditates upon the Vidyā, the Vāgbhava in his Mūlādhāra; Kāmarāja in his Anāhata (heart) and Śakti in his Brahmarandhra. Tantrarāja says :—

आधारे हृदये रन्ध्रे विद्या खण्डत्रयं स्मरेत् ।
लोहितं तत् प्रभावेधाल्लोहितं च निजं वपुः ॥'

Jñānārṇava Tantra says :—

अथ त्रिकूटासंपूर्णा महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ।
चिन्तिता साधकस्याऽऽशु त्रैलोक्यवशकारिणी ॥
क्रमेणनाभिहृद्वक्त्रमण्डलस्थाऽरुणप्रभा ।
पद्मरागमणिस्वच्छा चिन्तनात् सुरवन्दिते ॥
तस्याष्टगुणमैश्वर्यं सौभाग्यं च प्रजायते ॥

Dhyāna of the Kūta.—Jñānārṇava Tantra gives the following dhyānas for the Kūtas :—

Vāgbhava.—

वाग्भवाख्यं जपेद्विद्यां वागीशीं संस्मरन्बुधः ।
कर्पूरधवलां शुभ्रपुष्पाभरणभूषिताम् ॥
अत्यन्तशुभ्रवसनां वज्रमौक्तिकभूषणाम् ।
मुक्ताफलामलमणिजपमालालसत्कराम् ॥
पुस्तकं वरदानं च दधतीमभयप्रदाम् ।
एवं ध्यायेन्महेशानि सर्वविद्याधिपो भवेत् ॥

Kāmarāja.—

मूलादिब्रह्मपर्यन्तं स्फुरद्दीपस्वरूपिणीम् ।
बन्धूककुसुमाकारकान्तिभूषणभूषिताम् ॥
इक्षुकोदण्डपुष्पेषु वरदाभयसत्कराम् ।
तदीयकायसिन्दूरभरितं भुवनत्रयम् ॥

Śakti.—

सृष्टिसंहारपर्यन्तं शरीरे चिन्तयेत् पराम् ।
स्रवत्पीयूषधाराभिः वर्षन्तीं विषहारिणीम् ॥
हेमप्रभाभासमानां विद्युन्निकरसुप्रभाम् ।
स्फुरच्चन्द्रकलापूर्णकलशं वरदाभयौ ॥
ज्ञानमुद्रां च दधतीं साक्षादमृतरूपिणीम् ।
ध्यायन्विषं हरेन्मन्त्री नानाकार व्यवस्थितम् ॥

(*g*) *Japam*—Afterwards, meditation of the mantra is done as many times as the upāsaka can.

7. Conclusion

Of the wonderful powers of this mantra, there are numerous references in the Tantras and Purāṇas. For instance, speaking of the Kāmarāja, one of the three Kūtas, the Brahmāṇḍa and Kāḷikā Purāṇas say :—

एतामेवपुराऽऽराध्य विद्यां त्रैलोक्यमोहिनीं ।
त्रैलोक्यमोहनं रूपं अकार्षीद्भगवान्हरिः ॥
कामदेवोऽपि देवेशि महात्रिपुरसुन्दरीं ।
समाराध्याभवल्लोके सर्वसौभाग्यसुन्दरः ॥

Śrī Śankarācārya praises Kāmarāja aspect of Devī in the self-same strain in his Saundarya Laharī :—

हरिस्त्वामाराध्य प्रणतजनसौभाग्यजननीं ।
पुरा नारी भूत्वा पुररिपुमपि क्षोभमनयत् ॥
स्मरोऽपि त्वां नत्वा रतिनयनलेह्येन वपुषा ।
मुनीनाप्यन्तः प्रभवतिहि मोहायमहताम् ॥

JAINISM IN GANGAVADI

By M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.T.

Introductory

Jainism was once most prevalent in Kannaḍa and Tamil speaking territories of Southern India, where the many remains of mutilated stones, deserted cave buildings and ruined temples recall to our minds the greatness of that religion in the Middle Ages. It is also surmised that the Jaina religion penetrated South India as early as 200 B.C. and that Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakevali, who predicted a twelve years' famine in the north, led the great migration across the Vindhyas, accompanied on this journey by his disciple, the Mauryan emperor, Chandragupta. On reaching Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa and perceiving his end to be nearing, the Śrutakevali ordered the Jaina community to proceed on their journey, himself remaining at Vindhyagiri, the smaller hill at that place. There he died, tended in his last moments by his disciple.[1] Upon the death of Bhadrabāhu, Chandragupta continued there as an ascetic for several years, worshipping the footprints of his guru, till his death by the Jaina rite of *Sallekhana*. Megasthenes refers to the devotional teaching of the Śramaṇas, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmans and to Chandragupta's disappearance from public life at a comparatively early age. The coincidence of his reign with the accepted date of Bhadrabāhu's death is noteworthy and the reference in *Mudrārākṣasa* to a Jain holding a prominent position in the state goes further to establish that Chandragupta was, in all probability, a contemporary of the Jain guru and a member of his community.

All accounts, while not agreeing whether Bhadrabāhu died in Bharapura in Ujjain or on the Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa hill, nevertheless admit Bhadrabāhu's prediction of the famine and his leading of the Jain migration to the south. He

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 147–148; *E.C.*, II, SB. 31, 67.

was also admittedly the last of the Śrutakevalis and had Chandragupta for his disciple. It must also be remembered that up to this period there was no split in the Jaina fold and indeed this great migration constitutes the initial fact of the Digambara tradition.[2] The Bhadrabāhu legend is further supported by a complete absence of the Śvetāmbaras in the south where the Jains claimed to belong to the Mūla Sangha or the Original Congregation. It may also be observed that the Digambaras have gone from Bhadalpur (Pāṭaliputra) or Tiruppapuliyam (modern Cuddalore) to Delhi and Jaipur for religious propagandism.[3]

For close upon half-a-millennium from this time on, Gaṅgavāḍi witnessed a vigorous and intensive campaign by rival religions competing for supremacy as well as the peregrinations of religious leaders embracing different faiths on missionary enterprise amongst the rulers and the masses. The Jain Āchāryas of the period, of whom the most celebrated were Kuṇḍakunda and Samantabhadra, began proselytising on an extensive scale and secured a rapid spread of their religion and by about the fourth century A.D. Jainism had come to dominate the life and thought of the people of the Pāṇḍya, Chola and Chera kingdoms. Tamil classical literature, itself enriched by Kuṇḍakunda, author of the immortal *Kuṟṟaḷ*, prospered under Jaina auspices. Illangovāḍigaḷ, younger brother of a Chera king and contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon, was a Jain and author of *Silappadikāram*. Jain monasteries and cloisters were abundant. Jain colonies at Kāveripaṭṭanam and Madura grew into importance, and the Jain community was divided into Śrāvakas and Munis

Gangavadi and the Gangas

Some idea of that tract of country where these convulsing changes were wrought may be given. Gaṅgavāḍi denotes the country originally occupied by the essentially Mysorean dynasty of the Gangas. They were later superseded by their

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2 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, VII, p. 382.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, pp. 59–60.

kinsmen, the Hoysaḷas. The origin of the Ganga dynasty and the commencement of the reigns of their rulers are rather obscure. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao gives 250 A.D. with which it is difficult to agree.

Arivarma or Harivarma was probably anointed[4] as ruler by the Pallava king Simhavarman I, who ruled about the middle of the fifth century A.D. Assuming for the moment Arivarman to be the grandson of Mādhava I, the founder of the Ganga dynasty, the origin can neither be the second nor even the third century A.D. Much less can we accept the view[5] that the founder was a scion of the Kaṇva family, who emigrated to the south in search of a throne after the dissolution of the Kaṇva empire in 28 B.C.

The origins of this dynasty must be traced elsewhere and in a manner consistent with traditional accounts and historical facts to an extent. Looking back towards the periods mentioned in legend and tradition as well as by Rice and Mr. Hayavadana Rao and remembering the inferences to be drawn from the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[6] it may be observed that a most famous family of kings ruled north of the river Kṛṣṇa in the Āndhradeśa. This Ikṣvāku dynasty was prominent there between 225 A.D. and 340 A.D. The Ganga founders who claim descent from Ikṣvāku Vamśa may really have belonged to this dynasty which not only succeeded to the cultural inheritance of the Śatavāhanas but to a large part of their temporal possessions, thus being enabled to spread Hindu culture to the outside world. The claims of the Chālukyas and the Gangas to have descended from the solar race,[7] the marriage—according to a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription—of an Ikṣvāku princess with the king of Vanavāsi and the pride of the Kaikayas as having brought about matrimonial alliances with Ikṣvākus and Rājarṣis[8],

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[4] *I. A.*, VIII, p. 212.

[5] C. Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 592.

[6] *Mad.E.R.*, 1926, 1927.

[7] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 30; *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Sb. 64.

[8] *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 161, p. 5.

all indicate that relationship with this family was solicited on account of its high lineage and exalted character. The rule of this dynasty was continued till its displacement by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the one side and the Kadamba Vākāṭaka expansions on the other. Its disappearance and extinction may be dated roughly about 340 A.D. and it coincided with the meteoric descent of Samudragupta into the south, rudely shocking the stability of existing kingdoms and providing opportunities for enterprising men to carve out kingdoms for themselves. Like the Kadamba Mayūraśarman, perhaps the progenitors of the Gangas acted similarly. It is not then improbable that two ambitious Ikṣvāku princes came to Perur in search of a kingdom and with the help of Simhanandi laid the foundations of the Ganga dynasty about the middle of the fourth century. If this view be made probable, it will then be possible to arrange in definite chronological sequence the subsequent reigns of the Ganga rulers.

Royal Patronage

The most powerful supporters of Jainism in the south of India in their day were the Gangas and Jainism was most flourishing under royal patronage in Gaṅgavāḍi. Simhanandi, the great Jaina Āchārya, who assisted in the foundation of the Ganga dynasty about 350 A.D., insisted that, as a *sine qua non* for the people's acceptance of the faith, the princes should lead the way and enter the Jaina fold. Consolidation of the Jainas followed in Gangavāḍi as a matter of course. The preceptor's sage counsel may also be appropriately referred to here: "If you fail in what you promise, if you dissent from the Jina Śāsana, if you take the wives of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle, your race will go to ruin."[9] The Gangas, therefore, always ruled under the protecting and wakeful eye of Jinendra. Intensive propaganda on behalf of Jainism was carried on everywhere. Though the change of faith of Viṣṇugopa into Vaiṣṇavism

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9 Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer* (1897), II, p. 310.

perhaps caused the five royal tokens given by Indra to vanish as foretold in the original warning and Todangala Mādhava, Avinīta, Durvinīta and Muṣkara showed distinct predelictions towards Brahmanical Hinduism, nevertheless Jainism on the whole prospered widely in Gaṅgavāḍi under the Gangas. The Gangas from the time of Srīvikrama adhered more steadily to the Jain religion and with the Gangas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas favouring this great faith, it had a remarkably grand career for a few centuries side by side with the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava forms of Hindu religion. Numerous endowments for temples and temple building sprang up.

Several of the Ganga kings like Nītimārga, Būtuga and Mārasimha were not only well known for their learning and scholarship in Jaina philosophy but remarkable for their great acts of piety. Bastis, monasteries, bridges, mānastambas, renovation of tanks, gifts of villages for religious and humanitarian purposes followed. Chāmuṇḍarāya, himself the author of a history of the Tīrthankaras, constructed the Chāmuṇḍarāya basti and the colossal image of Gomaṭeśvara at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa. Even Rakkasa Ganga and Nītimārga III during the dark days of the dynasty continued their patronage of this religion. The temple at Talkad was constructed and other works undertaken by them.

Talavanapura or modern Talkad, the capital of the Gangas for about eight centuries, was once a mighty city, adorned with beautiful temples and monuments of architectural interest but it is now, alas, submerged in the sand dunes inexorably hoarded up by the river Kāveri; and who knows that some day, a merciful providence may render munificent aid and thus help towards restoring the architectural beauties and reviving in true and glorious colours the past memories of Ganga rule!

Jain Acharyas and their Work

South India during the ten centuries of the Christian era was an intellectual arena of four warring creeds, Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. That they were

constantly fighting against one another is indelibly preserved by the incidental marks left on the body of the vernacular literature of the country. It may safely be said that Digambara Jainism was supreme in the south maintaining its supremacy unchallenged till practically the ninth century A.D. and that its exalted position was in no small part due to the propagandist activities of the great Jain Āchāryas. In the early centuries of the Christian era there was a rapid spread of the religion and tradition mentions a sage Kuṇḍakunda as having occupied the pontifical chair about 8 B.C. and carried on the work of propagation. All the scattered facts culled out from traditions and literary remains, the identification of Ēlāchārya, the author of *Kuṟṟaḷ*, with Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, the priority of *Kuṟṟaḷ* to *Silappadikāram* and *Maṇimegalai*, produce cumulative evidence to conclude Kuṇḍakunda to be of Dravidian origin belonging to the Dravida Sangha.[10] He probably lived in Pātaliputra, the seat of Dravida Sangha and an important town in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; and wrote *Panchāstikāya*, *Drādaśamukhā*, *Pravachanasāra* and *Samayasāra* in Prakrit, then the court language of the Pallavas, for the benefit of the royal disciple Śivakumāra Mahārāja. He is reported to have made triumphant journeys to Pāṇḍya, Chola and Chera kingdoms for the purpose of spreading the Jaina Dharma and converted them to the true faith.

One of the most remarkable teachers in his line, intent on vigorous religious propaganda and on wiping out heretical and nihilistic doctrines of Buddhism, was Samantabhadra, who lived in the neighbourhood of the third century A.D. He is said to have been skilful in reducing to ashes the depressing and obstinate disease *bhasmaka*. An interesting story is told in *Rājāvaḷi Kathe* how he, on the advice of his guru, went to Kānchi to gratify his voracious and morbid appetite and how he miraculously suppressed that appetite and earned the conversion of Śivakoṭi of Kānchi to Jainism.[11]

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10 *I.A.*, XX, XXI ; *Digambara Paṭṭāvalis*, pp. 60, 61.

11 *E.C.*, II, p. 83.

His disciple later on came to be known as Śivakotâchârya celebrated in Jaina history for writing a commentary on *Tatvārthaśāstra*.[12] It was a custom in those days for a drum to be fixed in a public place in the city.[13] Any learned man visiting to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate would strike it by way of challenge to disputation. Samantabhadra made full use ot this custom and powerfully maintained by his great learning and polemical skill the Jaina doctrine of Syādvāda. This preceptor addressed one unnamed king of Karahaṭaka (Karhad),[14] perhaps the capital of the Silharas and undertook a missionary tour to Pāṭaliputra, Malwa, Sindhu,[15] Tikka, Kānchipura and Vaideśa.

Simhanandi is another celebrated teacher who is mentioned in many inscriptions as helping Mādhava Konganivarma in founding his dynasty and establishing his power.[16] He took up the cause of Mādhava and Diḍiga. He instructed and obtained for them a boon from the Goddess Padmāvati who confirmed it by the gift of a sword and the promise of a kingdom. He made a crown from the petals of the *karṇikāra* blossom and placed it on the heads of the brothers giving them his peacock fan as a banner and in due course provided them with an army and invested them with all kingly powers.[17] He finally insisted on the two brothers changing their faith to Jainism as Gaṅgavāḍi was then predominantly Jain and he attempted with royal support to secure the solidarity of the Jaina community. The immediate successors of Simhanandi were Vakragrīva, Vajranandin, author of *Navastôtra*, and Patrakesari, renowned as a refuter of the *trilakṣaṇā* theory of matter *utpāda*, *vyaya*, and *dhrauvya*, —existence, extinction and endurance. He is not the Āchārya

[12] *Ibid.*, 254.

[13] Giles, *Fahien's Travels*, p. 57; Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 161-65.

[14] *I.A.*, XXI, 228.

[15] *E.C.*, II, Sb. 67; *I.A.*, XXI, 156.

[16] *S. I. I.*, II, 387; *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 4; *Ibid.*, VIII, Ng. 35 and 36.

[17] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, 310.

referred to by Prof. Pathak who imagines him to be identical with Vidyānanda supposed to be a contemporary of Akaḷanka and the refuter of *Asthasasti* and *Pramāṇaparīkṣa*.[18] Sumatideva was the author of *Sumatisaptaka* containing wise thoughts on fortune, wealth, pleasure and salvation. Kumārasena and Chintāmaṇi were the immediate predecessors of the reputed Srīvardhadeva, sometimes called from his birthplace, Tumbulāchārya and the author of *Chūdāmaṇi* containing 96,000 verses, a fact retold in Bhaṭṭākaḷanka's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. An inscription quotes a couplet by Dandin[19] of the seventh century highly praising its author who produced Sarasvatī from the tip of his tongue just as Śiva produced the Ganges from the tip of his top knot.[20]

A contemporary of Srīvardha was Pūjyapāda also called Devanandi who probably belonged to the first half of the seventh century. He was a Jaina muni or anchorite who practised Yoga and was believed to have acquired extraordinary psychic powers. He travelled throughout South India, encountered disputants and successfully vanquished them in open debate. He is reported to have gone as far as Videha (Behar) in the north. His learning extended over a wide range and enabled him to make valuable contributions to Jaina philosophy, logic and grammar. Possibly, Pūjyapāda was the preceptor of Durvinīta, as *Śabdāvatāra* (the name of a Nyāsa on Pāṇini) is attributed to a Jain grammarian by name Pūjyapāda belonging probably to the latter half of the sixth century.[21] Pūjyapāda was followed by a few Āchāryas of the type of Maheśvara who probably kept up the traditions of the Mūlasangha by maintaining the supremacy of Jainism over other conflicting religions. The sixth and the seventh centuries witnessed a religious revival in every part of the peninsula. Not only the Gangas, but also the Pallavas of Kānchi and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed

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[18] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 222 ; *ibid.*, 232.
[19] *I.A.*, XLI, 12.
[20] *E.C.*, II, Sb. 67.
[21] *I.A.*, XIII, 211.

were staunch Jainas, one or two even going to the extent of persecuting other religions. We learn from the inscriptions of Western Chālukya kings Pulakeśin II, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II that they favoured the Jaina faith by executing repairs to temples and granting villages to them.[22] When the different kingdoms which were mostly of Jaina persuasion were now threatened by the revival of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, serious and energetic efforts were made by Jain Āchāryas to vindicate Jainism by disputations, theological controversies and by solicitation of royal patronage. Favoured and nourished by South Indian kings, Jainism enjoyed a period of prosperity for two centuries along with Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. According to *Digambara Darśana*, a Dravida Sangha was founded at Madura by Vajranandi, a disciple of Pūjyapāda, for spreading the Jaina faith. Akaḷanka, a Jain teacher from Beḷgoḷa who had been educated in the Buddha College at Ponnāṭanagara (Trivatur), is reported to have vanquished the Buddhists in disputation at Kānchi. He addressed three verses to a king Sāhasatunga Himaśītala and in the third verse claims to have overcome the Bauddhas in his court. He secured the conversion of the prince and the banishment to Ceylon of the Bauddhas who were said to have come from Benares in the third century A.D.[23] Akaḷanka's period also witnessed the reinforcement of Jainism by a further migration of Jains from the north to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the establishment of their settlements at Annāmalai, Madura and Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa. Sandusena, Indusena, Kanakanandi were some of the reputed teachers of the Jaina settlements at Annâmalai. Puṣpasena, Vimalachandra and Indranandi who belonged to the Original Congregation at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa were probably the colleagues of Akaḷanka and contemporaries of the great Ganga rulers of the eighth century Śrīpuruṣa and Sivavarma II. Vimalachandra, a contemporary of Akaḷanka, challenged the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Bauddhas, Kâpālikas and Kāpilas in a letter which he applied

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[22] *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 191.

[23] Wilson's *Introductions to Mackenzie's Manuscripts*, p. 40.

to the gate of the palace of an unnamed king with a surname Śatrubhayankara whose city thronged with troops, horses and lofty elephants. Paramādimalla, during his extensive missionary tour, is reported to have quoted a verse in the presence of a king named Kṛṣṇarāya probably of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Āryavāda, another great Jaina missionary, observed the vow of *kāyotsarga* on the small hill at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa maintaining the limbs in a state of absolute immobility and thus obtained deliverance from the eight terrible kinds of Karma. Chārukīrti and Karmaprakṛti were probably his contemporaries. Srīpāla Deva mentioned in Jina Sena's *Ādipurāṇa*[24] like Āryavāda was a Trividyāchārya, profound in grammar, logic and philosophy. Matisena and Hemasena followed the latter and earned great distinction by challenging Buddhist disputants in the court of one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the period.

The ninth century witnessed a remarkable activity of the Jaina teachers. Inscriptions indicate their swarming in large numbers at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa and participating in the theological controversies of the time. It was during this century the Tamil country too in spite of the aggressions of Hinduism produced some well-known Jaina teachers as Maṇḍalapuruṣa, a disciple of Guṇabhadra and author of the Tamil metrical dictionary, and Ajjanandi referred to in *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi*. Inscriptions found in Melur, Periyakulam, Palni and Madura taluks indicate the extent of the territory over which Jaina influence was felt and the work done by Kurandi Aṣṭopavāsi and his famous disciples Guṇasena, Nāganandi and Ariṣṭanemi.

The Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite revival under the Nāyanars and Ālwars succeeded in stamping out Jainism in the Tamil country where their downfall was complete by about the ninth and the tenth centuries. After this the Jains in the Tamil country sank into numerical and political obscurity though they retained in full their intellectual vitality and continued to bring out books on grammar, lexicon and astronomy. After their persecution in the Pallava and

[24] *E.C.* II, Sb. 67, 2; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 222.

Pāṇḍya countries by the saints Appar and Sambandar, the Jains probably migrated in large numbers to Gaṅgavāḍi always their centre and settled at Śravaṇabelgoḷa.

During this period the Mūlasangha produced some remarkable Jaina Āchāryas who exerted great influence in Gaṅgavāḍi and the Rāṣtrakūta kingdoms. Prabhachandra, one of the most influential Jaina teachers who preceded Jina, the guru of Amoghavarṣa, influenced his sovereign in carrying out works of piety and encouraging Jaina thought and religion. Jina was the author of *Ādipurāṇa* and his royal disciple according to *Chāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* wrote *Jinadharmadīpakāṣṭaka*. Guṇabhadra, a disciple of Jinasena, was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II who ruled between 880-911 A.D.[25] and wrote *Uttarapurāṇa*. Ajitasena reputed to be the author of *Alankārachūdāmaṇi* and *Maṇiprakāśa*[26] was a disciple of Guṇabhadra and the guru of Mārasimha and the celebrated Ganga minister Chamuṇḍarāya. Mārasimha about 973 A.D. retired to Bankapur to end his days by religious exercises at the feet of Ajitasena and died after observing the vow of *Sallekhana*. Chamuṇḍarāya and his son Jinadevana were both lay disciples of Ajitasena and dedicated a temple to him at Śravaṇabelgoḷa.

During the time of Ajitasena and his immediate successors great efforts were made with royal support to revive Jainism. Dayapāla who composed the *Hitarūpasiddhi* was the disciple of Matisāgara and fellow-student of Vādirāja. The latter was one of the most remarkable teachers in the latter half of the tenth century who challenged rival religionists in the capital of the Chālukya sovereign Jayasimha II (1018–1042). Śrīvijaya mentioned in Keśirāja's *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*[27] and worshipped by Būtuga, Mārasimha and Rakkasa Ganga was a contemporary of Vādirāja.

Arhadbali conspicuous in Jaina history for dividing the

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25 *Bombay Gazetteer*, VII, part II, 407-408.

26 *Sanskrit MSS. in Mysore and Coorg*, p. 304.

27 Kittel's edition, p. 4.

Mûlasangha of Sarasvati Gaccha into four sanghas, Sena, Nandi, Deva, Simha, in order to minimise hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of the times,[28] was a disciple of Guṇabhadra as Ajitasena. Early in the eleventh century with the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga dynasties, the activities of Jaina teachers were circumscribed to the limits of Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa and its neighbourhood.

(To be continued.)

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28 *I.A.*, XXI, 73.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLIII

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On a Roumanian Ætiological Myth about the Evolution of the Cuckoo and the Hoopoe.]

There are few birds which are more widely known by good and evil report than the common Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*). I am inclined to think that the cuckoo mentioned in the following myth is the common cuckoo. This bird cuckoo is well known for its habit of not remaining in one place, but of always flying from tree to tree, fleeting from branch to branch and uttering its call-note therefrom, so that one cannot ascertain from what place it is calling. The great British poet Wordsworth observed this habit and called this bird "*A Wandering Voice*", as will appear from the two following stanzas of his poem "*To the Cuckoo*":—

"O blithe new-comer! I have heard,
I hear thee and rejoice.
O Cuckoo! shall I call thee bird
Or but a wandering voice?"

"While I am lying on the grass
Thy two-fold shout I hear;
From hill to hill it seems to pass
At once far off and near."

It is for the foregoing reason that, in the undermentioned myth, this bird has been cursed to be "restless, without peace and without quiet".

The female of the common cuckoo does not construct a nest of her own and lay her eggs therein, but always does so in another bird's nest. On this point, the well-known British naturalist Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., says:—"It is well known that the female cuckoo does not make any nest, but places her egg in the nest of some small bird and leaves it to the care of its unwitting foster-parents. Various birds are

burdened with this charge, such as the hedge-warbler, the pied-wagtail, the meadow-pipit, the red-backed shrike, the blackbird and various finches. Generally, however, the three first are those preferred." *

It is for the foregoing reason that, in the following myth, this bird has been cursed to be without a home, and without a family.

The common Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) has a very wide range of country for its habitation, being commonly found in Northern Africa, in several parts of Asia and nearly in the whole of Europe including Roumania.

"The general colour of the hoopoe is a combination of white, buff and black, distributed in the following manner:—The plumes of the crest, which is composed of a double row of feathers, are of a reddish buff, each feather being tipped with black. The remainder of the head, neck and breast is purplish buff and the upper part of the beak purple grey. Three semi-circular black bands are drawn across the back and the quill feathers of the wings are marked with broad bands of black and white. The tail is also black with the exception of a sharply defined white semi-circular band that runs across the centre. The under-portions of the body are pale yellowish buff and the under tail-coverts are white. In their colour the two sexes are rather different from each other, the male being of a more ruddy hue than his mate, and having a larger crest. The total length of the adult hoopoe is not quite thirteen inches."†

The common hoopoe is remarkable for its habit of puffing up its body and expanding its crest, whenever it is alarmed. Many people think that this bird does so out of pride. It is for this reason that, in the undermentioned myth, it has been cursed to be always "puffing itself up and crying *whoop, whoop*".

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* *Vide*, *The Popular Natural History*. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. London, George Routledge & Sons, Limited, 1905. P. 364.

† *Op. cit.*, page 287.

The people of Roumania narrate the undermentioned myth to account for the evolution of the common cuckoo and the common hoopoe:—

The Cuckoo and the Hoopoe

Once upon a time there lived a very poor man and his wife who earned their living with the greatest difficulty. One day the poor man took an axe in his hand and left home to seek his fortune in the wide, wide world. When he had gone far, he came to the edge of a forest and found a beautiful tree with shining leaves and twigs of equal length growing there. Seeing it, the man was about to cut it. Then the tree spoke out: "Don't cut me. I will do you much good." Thereupon the man enquired: "What good will you do me?" The tree replied: "Go in such and such a direction and you will come to a village, of which the residents will appoint you their headman." The man acted up to the tree's instructions and arrived at the village of which the villagers appointed him their headman. After three years, the villagers turned him out; and he again fell into distress. He again went to the tree and was about to cut it. But again the tree asked him not to cut it, for it would do him much good. Then the tree directed him to go to such and such a village of which the residents would appoint him their judge. The man followed the tree's instruction and reached the village of which the people appointed him their judge. After three years, the villagers turned him out, and he again fell into great distress. So he again went to the tree and was about to cut it, whereupon the tree asked him not to do so, for it would do him much good. The tree then directed him to go in a certain direction where he would come to a town of which the citizens would appoint him their emperor. The man did as he was directed to do. After his arrival at the town, the citizens appointed him their emperor. He remained emperor for three years and amassed great wealth. After three years, he was turned out. But his avaricious and proud wife was not satisfied with the great wealth which her husband

had amassed. So she told him to go again to the forest and obtain some more benefit from the tree. The tree seeing him grew angry and said: "O disgraceful and despicable wretch! you are always dissatisfied. I had made thee headman, judge and emperor. But all these benefits did not satisfy thee. Thou art not in need of anything. Now, however, thou hast become impudent and insolent; for thy impious wishes, thou shalt be punished, thou shalt henceforth be a bird, restless, without peace and without quiet, flying from tree to tree and from branch to branch, always dissatisfied, without a home, without a family, and thy name shall be *Cuckoo.* Tell thy wife also, that since she has been urging thee on and compelling thee to do this impious act, she shall become the *hoopoe* who, puffing herself up, shall cry "*whoop! whoop!*" And so they have remained in these bird-forms to this day.*

From a study of the foregoing myth we find that—

(*a*) The Roumanians were careful observers of the habits of birds and noted the restless and the puffing up habit of the cuckoo and hoopoe. But, being unable to explain the origin of these habits, they invented the foregoing myth to account for the same.

(*b*) There is a good deal of folklore about the crest of the hoopoe. On this point Rev. J. G. Wood says: "On account of its very striking and remarkable form it has attracted much notice, and has been the subject of innumerable legends and strange tales nearly all of which relate to its feather crest.

The Turks call the hoopoe *Tirchaous*, or Courier Bird, because its feathery crown bears some resemblance to the plume of feathers which the *chaous* or courier wears as a token of his office. The Swedes are rather fearful of the hoopoe, and dread its presence, which is rare in their country, as a presage of war, considering the plumes as analogous to a helmet. Even in our own country the uneducated rustics

*'*Vide, Folk Tales of All Nations*, by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, Pp. 840-42.

think it an unlucky bird, most probably on account of some old legend which, although forgotten, has not entirely lost its power of exciting prejudice." *

(*c*) The primitive Roumanians believed that there was no difference between human beings and trees and that the latter could talk and act like the former.

(*d*) The foregoing also teaches a great moral lesson, because it inculcates that avarice should be avoided and that avaricious men should be punished.

(*e*) It also teaches that men should not be proud, because "Pride goeth before destruction and haughtiness before a fall."

(*f*) From this myth, we catch a glimpse of the social organization of the primitive Roumanians, for they had towns and villages and emperors, judges and headmen.

* *Vide* Wood's *Popular Natural History*, p. 286.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXI

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Hungarian Myth about the Speaking Grapes, the Smiling Apples and the Tinkling Apricots.]

HUNGARY formerly formed part of the Dual monarchy—Austro-Hungary. But, after the Great War of 1914-1918, it has been formed into a separate Republic under the name of Czecho-Slovakia. Its inhabitants are Czechs, Slovaks or Slavs and Magyars, the last race being of Mongoloid origin. These people narrate the following folktale:—

The Speaking Grapes, the Smiling Apples and the Tinkling Apricots.

Once upon a time, there lived a king who had three daughters. On one occasion, the king was going out to travel in a foreign country, and asked his daughters what they would wish him to bring for them from the foreign land. The eldest daughter wanted a golden dress, the second daughter wanted a silver dress and the youngest daughter wanted the speaking grapes, the smiling apples and the tinkling apricots. After his arrival in the foreign country, the king procured the gold and silver dresses; but, notwithstanding the most careful search, could not obtain the speaking grapes, the smiling apples and the tinkling apricots. So, greatly distressed in mind, the king started on his return journey to his own country. In the midst of the journey, the king's carriage stuck fast in the mire and mud and could not be extricated therefrom by the most strenuous efforts. At last, a pig arrived there and spoke with a human voice and said: "O king, if you will marry your youngest daughter to me, I shall extricate your carriage from the mire." Reluctantly and sorrowfully, the king agreed to do so. Thereupon the pig gave a shove and a push to the carriage which at once was moved off from the mud and was driven away to the king's country.

After the king had arrived at his capital, the pig arrived with a wheel-barrow and demanded the princess. The king dressed a beggar girl in a fine dress and gave her to the pig. But the pig at once recognized that she was not the king's youngest daughter and threw her away from the wheel-barrow. Then the king was obliged to bring out his youngest daughter and, dressing her in a ragged and tattered dress, gave her to the pig who at once recognized that she was the real princess, seated her in the wheel-barrow and drove her away to his own litter. The princess wept bitterly all the way and after her arrival at the litter and seeing its squalid surroundings, lamented still more and more bitterly and at last fell asleep. On waking up in the morning, she found that she was in a most beautiful and well-furnished palace and numerous maids and servants were attending to her wants. After some time, she went to the garden attached to the palace and there a grape-vine stretched out his branches and invited the princess to pluck the grapes which could speak; the apple seeing her smiled; and the apricot tinkled out a tune. Then a charming young prince appeared before her and addressing her said: "O princess, I was a prince bewitched by the spells of a magician into the form of a pig. It was ordained that when a princess would come and ask for speaking grapes, the smiling apples and the tinkling apricots, the spells should be removed and I should resume my former human shape and my most squalid surroundings would be changed again into a palace. Now you have come here and asked for the speaking fruits. The spells have been removed; and I am now a prince again." Thereupon they were married and went back to her parents to inform them of their great happiness.*

From a study of the foregoing folktale we find that—

(*a*) The ancient Hungarians believed that there existed among them men who were adepts in magic and sorcery.

(*b*) These magicians, by their spells and incantations, could transform human beings into beasts.

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* *Vide, Folk Tales of All Nations* by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, Pp. 575—76.

(*c*) These human beings, who had been transformed into beasts, were re-changed into their former human forms on a third party fulfilling a certain condition. This incident occurs in the folklore of other peoples.

(*d*) These magicians were similar to the English fairies who, as in the folktale of *Cinderella*, could, by their spells, change a shabbily-dressed girl into a beautiful princess.

(*e*) The ancient Hungarians further believed that there was no distinction between human beings on the one hand and beasts and plants on the other, and that the latter could speak and act like the former.

NOTES

Panniyur Gramam (=Panni-ur-gramam) in Malabar

THIS Grāmam is a Kerala Brahmin community of Panniyūr, the boar village, which is situated on the southern side of the Bhārata or Ponnani river opposite to Kuttipuram Railway Station. Not far away is another Brahmin village called Chowaram (Sukapuram). Both were in olden days renowned centres of the Kerala Brahminical learning and orthodoxy, rivals to each other in these respects. The former is so called because of the well-known local shrine of 'Varāhamūrti' (the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) who was, and still is, the Brahmin (Nambudiri) villagers' patron deity. The original sacred idol of this deity is said to have been burned or destroyed by these villagers themselves long, long ago and this sacrilegious act is still considered to be a memorable event or landmark in the traditional history of Kerala. For, says Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti (in his paper on "The Age of Sankara" contributed to *The Vedanta Kesari* and reproduced in the Educational and Literary Supplement of *The Hindu* of July 4, 1932):—" One of the two dates that the history of religion in Kerala has kindly preserved for us is the date of the destruction of the shrine of Varāhamūrti at Payyannūr* who is the patron deity of the Nambudiris who belong to the Panniyūr Grāmam. There was a religious schism brought into the Vedic camp through the powerful influence of Buddhism and the result was that the reformers broke the sacred idol. This incident is said to have taken place in 565 A.D. if any credence may be attached to the Kali chronogram 'Cittacalanam' (Kali year 3666)."

It is true that during this period the aggressive and proselytizing influence of Buddhism was irresistible everywhere. But a question would naturally arise in every inquisitive mind 'why was this Varāhamūrti alone selected for the onslaught in Kerala while his rival neighbour Dakshināmūrti (Śiva in contemplative mood) at Chowaram was left intact and safe?' The answer does not seem to be very difficult. For, if we will but go through our

* Here evidently two place names are confused: Payyannūr in North Malabar and Panniyūr in South Malabar. The latter is the home of the Nambudiris as well as the abode of 'Varāhamūrti'.

Purāṇic literature we shall find that, of all the incarnations or *avatars* of Viṣṇu, ten or more in number, Varāha, the Boar, was the greatest and acknowledged patron of the Vedic sacrificial rites. Hence, he is known as "Yagna Varāha". This proposition can be well established beyond any doubt by means of quotations from the Purāṇic texts which are familiar to the readers of the *Q.J.M.S.* Yet, a refeience will be apt and interesting here to the legendary explanation of the name 'Barhishmati,' of the capital city of Brahmāvarta which was the stronghold of Vedic ritualism. For, here, in this sacred city, the Varāha's thick hairs had fallen, on his shaking his body and limbs, and grew as sacred evergreen grass (*Kuśa* and *Kāsa*) with which the Ṛṣis defeated and slew the anti-Vedic demons (Rākṣasas) and performed their sacrificial rites to please Viṣṇu, the patron god of such rites. Hence, the city was called 'Barhishmati' which means a grassy green city [*Bhāgavata Purāna*, III. 22. 29-31]. The Buddhist reformers were opposed to the Vedic ritualism which authorized or ordained the inhuman slaughter of innocent animals and advocated and practised the contemplative or yogic method of spiritual self-realization for final emancipation of the soul. Dakshināmūrti or Śiva in yogic pose, on the other hand, is somewhat akin or similar to Lord Buddha in this and many other respects as both are depicted as seated in penance under the sacied fig trees (*Vaṭa* and *Asvattha*) as the great friends or patrons of Kubera (the lord of wealth), as the conquerors of Māia, the tempter, and also as the Omniscient Ones (*Sarvajna*). In his third University Lecture in Madras on Java (Greater India Series) Dr. Kalidas Nag, explaining the pictures exhibited to illustrate the relationship between Śiva and Buddha, is reported† to have stated as follows:—"The image belonged to the Javanese sculptures of the mediæval period when Śiva and Buddha were identified as one god. One of the Javanese inscriptions was to the effect that unless and until the Javanese believed that Śiva and Buddha were identical gods they had no salvation. In spite of the forms which were varied, the Javanese had strong faith in the fundamental basis of unity." It would be clear now why 'Varāhamūrti' was burned and destroyed and Dakshināmūrti spared.

† *The Hindu*, Friday, October 14, 1927; *vide* also my paper on "Daksha *versus* Śiva" or "Karma *versus* Jnāna" in *Q.J.M.S.*, July 1927.

The ancient history of Kerala, as of any other country, is more or less traditional, the men and events therein mentioned being shrouded in a thick mist (which is slowly but gradually dissolving in research light) and consequently not yet discernible well. Let us leave it behind and come to a later age where our ground is surer and things are more clear, natural and real. In the mediæval period of the history of Kerala, the Moors settled in the Malabar Coast and their converts and adherents, locally known as the Moplas, played a very important part especially in that part of the country which is now known as the British Malabar. It is a well-known fact that these fanatic Mohammedans formed a very appreciable portion of the Zamorin's army or militia and rendered him effective military service during his glorious régime now long past; and to them the pig or pork must have been an extreme abomination as it is to the followers of Islam now. We can now imagine more or less vividly what must have been the consternation, then, of those Brahmin or Nambudiri villagers of Paṅniyūr where Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha, a boar or pig, was actually worshipped in a sacred shrine which was owned and maintained by them. They were, in all probability, seized or possessed with a panic, and in that state of mind driven to the sacrilegious step of burning and destroying the sacred idol of their patron deity for safeguarding their vital and temporal interests; and thereby actually incurred the displeasure of the Hindu ruler, the Zamorin himself. The consequences were disastrous. This seems to be a more probable and historical explanation of this epoch-making event in the history of Kerala.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.

REVIEWS

Outlines of Indian Philosophy

BY M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

Professor of Sanskrit (Retd.), Mysore University

(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London)

WE congratulate Prof. Hiriyanna on the excellent text-book which he has prepared and published on the Outlines of Indian Philosophy. By study, training and experience, he is very competent to attempt a faithful and comprehensive account of this subject, including in its wide scope both interpretation and criticism. We have in the book before us a masterly analysis of the distinctive features of Indian thought, followed by a detailed consideration of the Vedic period, the early post-Vedic period and the age of the systems, and it will be found useful by all students of philosophical thought in the East as well as the West.

Where criticism of the book is likely to be directed, the author furnishes an explanation in the preface which, while it may not be convincing to all, will nevertheless be found to be satisfactory. He regards the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism as being pure nihilism, relying for the negative character of its teaching on the entire body of Hindu and Jaina works. The absence, in this work, of any account of the Dvaita school of Vedāntic philosophy is also explained. The Vedānta is either absolutistic or theistic, each of these exhibiting many forms It being impossible to give a satisfactory and complete treatment of its many-sided teaching within the compass of a text-book, the Advaita of Śaṁkara and the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja have been chosen by him to illustrate Vedāntic absolutism and Vedāntic theism, respectively.

Religion is essentially a reaching forward to an ideal, without resting on mere belief or outward observances: it serves to further right living. For the ancient Indian, the discovery of truth was not enough but had to be realized in his own experience. Hence the attempt to attain mokṣa or liberation, the real goal of philosophy. The conception of mokṣa thus transcends all logic

and marks the culmination of philosophic culture. Philosophy in India therefore did not take its rise in wonder or curiosity but originated under the pressure of a practical need arising from the presence of moral and physical evil in life. Mokṣa in all Indian systems represents a state in which evil is, in one sense or other, taken to have been overcome. Philosophic endeavour was directed to find a remedy for the ills of the flesh and the consideration of metaphysical questions came as a matter of course to get us, if possible, to the other shore across the troubled ocean of saṁsāra.

There is no ground for considering that the goal of philosophy rests on mere speculation only because the idea of mokṣa is eschatological. For, owing to the constant presence in the Indian mind of a positivistic standard, the mokṣa ideal, even in those schools in which it was not so from the outset, speedily came to be conceived as realizable in life. Man's aim was no longer represented as the attainment of perfection in a hypothetical hereafter, but as a continual progress towards it within the limits of the present life. Even the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrines which do not formally accept this jīvan-mukti ideal clearly recognize the possibility of man reaching here a state of enlightenment which completely transforms his outlook upon the world and fills with an altogether new significance the life he thereafter leads in it. Such a life is to be found also in the Upaniṣads [*Katha Up.*, II. iii. 14]. In laying a suitable course of practical discipline for the attainment of such a life, philosophy becomes a way of life not merely a way of thought and systems of thought including heretical ones while they may differ in the substance of their theories are all at one in teaching renunciation. The ascetic ideal, however, is only to be progressively realized. The social factor is disregarded by the heterodox only as a means of self-culture and their attitude towards it is neither one of revulsion nor one of neglect. When all is said, asceticism is favoured by all schools and in every tradition.

While some admit the ultimacy of the individual self, others deny it in one sense or other. Buddhism altogether repudiates the individual self as a permanent entity, while Absolutism takes it as eventually merging in the true or universal self so that its individuality is only provisional. Theism on the other hand like that of Rāmānuja and pluralistic systems like Jainism or the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika recognize the individual self to be ultimate,

but point out the way to deliverance as lying only through the annihilation of ahaṁkāra.

The individual's obligations are not confined to human society, but extend virtually to the entire sentient creation, and this notion accords well with the spirit of Indian ethics whose watchword is devotion to duties rather than assertion of rights.

The pursuit of mokṣa as the final ideal and the ascetic spirit of discipline recommended for its attainment are two elements common to all Indian thought. Philosophy is neither mere intellectualism nor moralism but includes and transcends both. These elements are the sole means of achieving the end and are the two wings that help the soul in its spiritual flight. Jñāna and Vairāgya thus attained will give an attitude of peace which is not mere passivity. The value of philosophic training lies as little in inducing a person to do what otherwise he would not have done, as in instructing him in what otherwise he would not have known; it consists essentially in making him what he was not before.

The Vedāntic idea of the highest good also implies the recognition of a cosmic purpose, whether that purpose be conceived as ordained by God or as inherent in the nature of reality itself, towards whose fulfilment everything consciously or unconsciously moves.

Space forbids a survey of the whole field covered by the author in the work under review, and a discussion of any one of the questions which he propounds or expounds would take a volume. We do not know for instance whether gods admittedly conceived in a human mould were glorified human beings, 'super-men' of the old hoary past or whether the Vedic religion was, as commonly described, 'arrested anthropomorphism'. But we must allow with Rudolf Roth that there is a positive moral value to be attached to the fundamental conceptions of the Veda touching more particularly the relation of man to God and the future state of departed souls.

Referring to the mahāvākya 'That thou art' (तत्त्वमसि), Prof. Hiriyanna says that the individual as well as the world is the manifestation of the same reality and both are, therefore, at bottom one. There is no break between nature and man or between either of them and God.

Such a synthesis, besides showing that Reality is one, carries with it an important implication. The conception of Brahman, being objective, can at best stand only for a hypothetical something, carrying no certainty necessarily with it; and it may also be taken to be non-spiritual in its nature. But the conception of ātman is not so and, as commonly understood, it is finite and cannot represent the whole of Reality. Even as the cosmic self, it is set over against the physical world and limited by it. But when the two conceptions of Brahman and ātman are combined, by a process of dialectic a third is reached which is without flaws of either taken by itself. It is spiritual like the ātman but unlike it because it is infinite: it is also indubitable being conceived as fundamentally one with our own immediate self. Once recognized as one with our own self, it ceases to be an assumption or a dogma and it becomes transformed into a positive certainty as we are under an intuitive obligation to admit the reality of our own existence. This is the Upaniṣadic Absolute, neither Brahman nor ātman in one sense but both in another.

Elsewhere he refers to puruṣa and prakṛti as being sharply distinguished. The one is the subject in experience, the other the object and it is a knowledge of the distinction between them which is commonly hidden from man that is believed in this new doctrine (Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda) to qualify for release from saṁsāra. Here the conception of the Absolute is passive and creative activity is transferred almost entirely to prakṛti.

Prof. Hiriyanna's treatment of all topics is clear and full and we have no doubt it is an excellent addition to philosophical literature bearing on Indian thought.

S. S.

Heaven and Hell

BY EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

(*Swedenborg Society, Inc., London*)

A CURIOUS mixture of ideas is found in this work of Swedenborg. As there is causal correspondence between natural and spiritual realms, the things of the world—mountains, plains, rivers and animals—are said to have their counterparts in heaven. But angels have no idea of space, nearness and distance being

determined by their spiritual affinity and their progressions being merely changes in mental state. His heaven resembles the New Jerusalem of the Christians, the Mahomedan Paradise of Miskat-al-Masabih, Sukhāvati of the Buddhists and the Siddha Śila of the Jains. Light is associated with goodness and darkness with evil. A sense of security is felt in the midst of light and a dread of unknown terrors amidst darkness. The Hindu heaven is Jyotirmaya and their gods are devas. The Buddhist Sukhāvati is no less luminous, being the realm of Amitābha.

Swedenborg distinguishes between different regions of the heaven. Hindus make a distinction between Devayāna presided over by the sun to which the dead go by wings of fire and Pitṛyāna presided over by the moon to which they go by wings of smoke. While those who go to Devayāna are not reborn, those that go to Pitṛyāna are born again as soon as their merit is exhausted.

The psychology of the requiem service, prayer for the dead, piṇḍas for the departed, and food offering to the deceased, whether at time of burial or after, is exactly the same.

The heaven of the Hindu is temporary, while that of the Iranian, the Christian and the Mahomedan is eternal. Also the Hindu believes that souls have to strive to attain mukti, whereas the other faiths rely on the principle of election, *i.e.*, God's choice of souls to be saved. The theory of mediation is unknown to the Hindu, while the Christian and the Moslem believe that at the time of divine judgment the Prophet or Messiah will intercede for them.

The fact that despite the difficulty of imagining heaven in coherent and intelligent terms the desire for and faith in it persist can only be set down to the intense desire of man to be in a better land where the evils and sufferings of this world do not exist and the struggles of life are at an end.

As life is identified with light, death is identified with darkness. Extreme heat is associated with hell by all except Tibetans who believe in cold hells. For different sins, different hells are reserved but opportunities are provided in a realm beyond the grave to improve the character of the dead and to fit them for entrance into the land of the blessed. This is the doctrine of the purgatario in Christian thought. It is imagined that a time

would come when the hell would be emptied of its inhabitants when Christ visits it. In Buddhism also the visit of Buddha has a similar effect. A similar belief obtains among the Zoroastrians.

Since a poet cannot be taken as an explorer, these descriptions of heaven and hell by Swedenborg should be considered not as geographical reports but as poetic fiction. We have, in the book under review, pictures such as original artists paint and not photographs that even amateurs might take.

S. S.

Chitraprabha

A Commentary on Haridiksita's Laghu Sabdaratna

BY BHAGAVATA HARI SASTRI.

(*Andhra University Series No. 6. Waltair. Price Rs. 4*).

THIS is a commentary of a portion of Śabdaratna, the commentary of Prauḍhamanoramā which, in its turn, is a commentary of Siddhāntakaumudi, the famous exposition of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Its author is a renowned Vaiyākaraṇi having studied Vyākaraṇa under Kāśinātha Śāstri, the famous grammarian of Benares, for fourteen years and having devoted most of his life in teaching Vyākaraṇa and writing well-known works like *Vākyārthacandrikā*.

It is ably edited with copious notes by Mahāmahopādhyāya Tātā Subbarāya Śāstri, Lecturer in Vyākaraṇa, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. The editor is an adherent of the Nāgeśa school of grammarians, while the author belongs to the post-Nāgeśa school. The editor has, in his notes, tried to defend Nāgeśa against the attacks of later grammarians including the author.

The work is the first of the series to be published under the auspices of the princely Bobbili Endowment for encouragement of Telugu and Sanskrit learning. May this attempt of the Āndhra University for the promotion of Sanskrit learning be crowned with success is the wish of all Sanskrit scholars.

N. I.

The Philosophy of Islam

BY KHAN SAHIB KHAZA KHAN, B.A.

(*Second Edition, Madras. Price Re. 1–4–0*)

ISLAM is submission of man's will to God's will. But his responsibility does not cease till he attains the stage when all his actions proceed from God-consciousness. The book deals, *inter alia*, with the nature of God and the theory of creation ; the nature of soul and its psychology ; the practical side of the realization of God ; and God as the source of all actions. The learned author has given an accurate account of the truths of Islam in their philosophical and practical aspects.

N. I.

Tarka Tandava of Sri Vyasatirtha

WITH NYAYADIPA, THE COMMENTARY OF
SRI RAGHAVENDRATIRTHA

(*Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 74. Mysore. Vol. I. Price Rs. 3*)

THIS is the first volume of Tarkatāṇḍava, the prince of the three Vādagranthas of Srī Vyāsatīrtha. The book deals with six subjects in six chapters, *viz.*, Prāmāṇya Vāda, Vedāpauruṣeyatva Vāda, Īśvara Vāda, Varṇa Vāda, Samavāya Vāda and Nirvikalpaka Vāda. In these chapters the learned author establishes, respectively, the following prāmāṇyas of the Vedāntins, namely, that prāmāṇya is self-evident ; that Vedas are not made but eternal ; that the omniscience of God is established by the Vedas themselves ; that varṇas are eternal and omnipresent elements ; that Jneya is due to union of varṇa ; and that there is no nirvikalpa jñāna. The counter-propositions of the Naiyāyikas have been ably refuted.

Of the two extant commentaries on this work, *viz.*, Yuktiratnākara and Nyāyadīpa, the editors have happily selected the latter of Śrī Rāghavendratīrtha whose esoteric commentary on Ṛg Veda—Mantramanjari—stands unparalleled in Vedic interpretations. Besides, he is a Sanyāsin who attained samādhi and whose brindāvan at Mantrālaya is the favourite resort of Hindu pilgrims.

N. I.

Plotinus on the Beautiful and on Intelligible Beauty

(*The Shrine of Wisdom, London*)

IN both these, Plotinus has brought out the identity of Truth and Beauty. In his immortal Gīta, Śrī Kṛṣṇa has shown that this world is made of sacchidānanda (Being-Knowledge-Bliss) and nāma-rūpa (name and form); that reality (sacchidānanda) shows itself in all appearances as sattva (beauty); that partial knowledge of the Absolute is derived by looking at appearances as they are partially real and that the greater the beauty (sattva) of an appearance, the greater the reality underlying it. Says Śrī Kṛṣṇa under Vibhūti Yoga :—

यद्यद्विभूति मत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेववा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छत्वं ममतेजोऽभिसंभवं ॥

Whatever is renowned, real, beautiful, brave ; know all that to be born of my splendour.

It is the cultivation of this beauty (sattva) in man as in nature that is said to bring out the godliness or the real in them, both according to Plotinus and Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The Editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom* are to be congratulated on the excellence of the publications comprising this series.

S. S.

The Indo-Sumero-Semitic-Hittite Problems Part, I

BY R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR

(*Madras University Extension Lecture, 1932. Price Annas 8*)

IT is now admitted that the Sumerian, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Hittite and the Indus Valley Civilizations did not stand isolated but formed a net-work of cultural streams closely connected with and interdependent upon each other making extensive mutual exchanges not only of commercial products but also of skill, intelligence and thought. Of the problems that arise for investigation out of these contacts, Mr. Vaidyanatha Ayyar has taken up the question of the identities, affinities and the analogies between the Sumerians and the Dravidians on the one hand and the Hittites and the Indo-Aryans on the other. Considering the enormous work that the author will have to

do under the heads of race, language, culture and civilization; the development of the Sanskrit and Dravidian languages in India both in relation to themselves and to the Sumerian and Hittite languages; and, what is more, the extent of influence exercised by the ancient Indian civilization over the other civilizations of Asia and Egypt, it is really Herculean, though noble and praiseworthy. In the book under review, which is the first part of the larger work, ample proof is available of his capacity to cope with the task.

S. S.

Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum

BY F. H. GRAVELY AND T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

(*Government Press, Madras. Price Rs. 5-8-0*)

THE Bulletin gives a brief bibliography; popular iconographic notes; archæological observations fixing the dates of the Hindu images in the Museum collection, the character and geographical distribution of the images; their classification with short descriptions relating to size, history, style and workmanship; and illustrations. The manner of the work, therefore, leaves nothing to be desired.

There are naturally enough several points on which a reviewer is obliged to differ from the authors. Firstly, instead of approaching the subject of dates of the images from a new and unobjectionable viewpoint, the arbitrary standards adopted by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil for stone images have been followed. Secondly, it has been presumed that metal-workers adopted all the details found in stone images in their manufacture of metal images. Thirdly, it has been taken for granted that metal images came into being only in the tenth century.

The Bulletin which is excellently got up is interesting and instructive.

S. S.

Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta

(Calcutta University Press, Vol. XXII)

THIS is one of the very few journals that keep up their traditional high standard of learning. The volume contains as many as eight original articles contributed by eminent scholars. It will, therefore, be invidious to pick particular topics or points for notice. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

N. I.

Jataka Parijata

BY V. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI, B.A.

(Pp. 1080. Price Rs. 7)

THE second volume of the revised edition of Jātaka Pārijāta with an English translation and notes by Mr. V. Subramanya Śāstri maintains a high standard of excellence which we associate with his works. The volume begins with the Aṣṭaka Varga and deals with the effects of its twelve bhāvas. Female horoscopy is considered in Chapter XVI, Kālacakra in XVII and Daśas in XVIII. The value of the work is enhanced by the English Index and separate indices to ślokas and Sanskrit words.

The chapter on Aṣṭaka Varga is prefaced with eleven verses taken from Hōra Makaranda. Each planet, it is said, moving from its position at birth produces its own peculiar effect varying with its progress through the twelve houses. Calculating with the janmarāśi occupied by the moon at the time of birth of the native, he is declared to have eight signs as the seeds of the seven planets in the ascendent. Aṣṭaka Varga is the process by which the results under the influence of the disjoint and the conjoint states of the planets with the lagna are calculated.

We refer the reader to the details of the workings of this tortuous problem in a very clear and understandable manner to the work under review. The table which he has given exemplifies it in a remarkable degree.

S. S.

The Hindu Pharmacopœia

BY A. R. S. SUNDARAM BHISHAK

(*Yogasrama, Royapettah, Madras.* *Price Re. 1–4–0*)

THIS work which has been compiled from classic text-books on Āyurveda will be found most useful even by esteemed Kavirājas and Vaidyas in active practice. It is interesting to observe that the sources of various prescriptions have been mentioned. The Introduction deals with the details regarding weights, doses, forms and preparations in use. We commend the book to physicians versed in the allopathic system in order that by mutual adaptation the healing art might progress and maintain the health of the people unimpaired in an increasing degree.

S. S.

Bhasana Ekanka Natakagalu
(One-Act Plays of Bhasa)

BY L. GUNDAPPA, M.A.

(*Published by Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore*)

BHASA has been latterly coming into great prominence and has attained an accepted position in Sanskrit literature. The esteem in which he was held in old days can be gathered from the reference which Kāḷidāsa makes to him and from the praise bestowed on him by poets like Bāṇa, Daṇḍi and others. It is a matter of great gratification that Gaṇapati Śāstriyar was able to unearth thirteen of his plays and determine their undoubted authorship. We are aware of disputations regarding this claim, but we may take it that the plays referred to in the book under review are generally regarded as having been composed by Bhāsa himself. Of the five plays whose Kannada translations are given, an English rendering of "Dūta Vākya" was published by Mr. H. L. Hariyappa. "Ūrubhanga" is a celebrated tragedy in Sanskrit literature and it is hoped an early attempt will be made to give a dramatised version of it in English in this part of the country. Mr. Gundappa is well qualified for the task which he has set before himself and we congratulate him on the success which has attended his efforts in placing these plays before the Kannada public.

S. S.

Raja Ravi Varma's Place in Indian Painting

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಚಿತ್ರಕಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಾ ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಸ್ಥಾನ

BY A. N. KRISHNA RAO

(*Published by V.G.T. General Agency, Balepet, Bangalore City*)

WE agree with Mr. N. S. Subba Rao that the great renaissance ushered in by Prof. B. M. Srikantia in his remarkable "English Gītagaḷu" is bearing rich fruit in all departments of activity pertaining to Kannada Literature. Mr. Krishna Rao, the author of this work, has achieved considerable success both as a playwright and a story-teller exhibiting keen insight into social problems of the day. His adventure into the domains of an art critic is much to be welcomed. There are few indeed who are unfamiliar with Ravi Varma's paintings and fewer still who do not express a feeling that there is some artificiality in the vast bulk of his portraits.

Ravi Varma, we do not believe, ever claimed to set up an ideal, but he portrayed life as he saw it and consequently where he tried to paint the heroes and heroines of the past his work was coloured by what he saw around him. It is true that the Śilpa Sāstras lay down exact conditions for painting or working up these creatures of the imagination. But we have also to remember that gods and goddesses were of yore put in a human mould and no wonder then that Ravi Varma perhaps sought for models in the life around him. These are some of the aspects which occur to us as being relevant considerations for a study of Ravi Varma's work. We are fortified in this belief by the appreciation which the author has himself expressed of the great modern Indian painter. He, however, exhibits a distinct bias towards the modern Bengal school of painting which thanks to our limited knowledge of the art we are unable to appreciate fully. It may also be that Raja Ravi Varma has made such a strong impression on our minds that we are blinded to the virtues of northern painting. Be that as it may, Indian art is slowly striving to get back into its own and it is our fervent prayer that it will occupy a permanent place in the gallery of the world to which it is justly entitled. We congratulate Mr. Krishna Rao on the exposition which he has given regarding Ravi Varma's place in Indian painting. The book is profusely illustrated not merely from Rāja Ravi Varma's work

but from other schools in order to bring out the main points in the theme of the author.

S. S.

Sri Sankaracarya and his Kamakoti Peetha

BY N. K. VENKATESAM PANTHALU, M.A., L.T.

(*Ananda Press, Madras*)

THIS is a second edition. The date of Śankara is given as 2593 of Kali, but it differs from the generally accepted date for Śankara. No doubt 509 B.C. roughly agrees with the date given to him by K. G. Nateśa Śāstri in the *Jignāsa*, Vol. I, Part III, after a discussion of all the available evidence. He says that 2631 years after the Mahābhārata War, Hāla or Pūrnavarma ascended the Magadha throne and ascribes that date to Śankara. The Śringeri list gives 44 B.C. The Kānchi list preserved in *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* gives 509—477 B.C. A fresh examination of these various lists, with the reasons underlying the hitherto accepted traditions and beliefs by competent hands would be welcome.

We are not referred to the actual Nepālese inscription which accepts this date [509–477 B.C.]. The reference in "Soundarya Lahari" to Drāviḍa Śiśu may well be to Śankara himself and not to Sambandhar, but then it is difficult to get over the other facts discussed by Telang, Bhandarkar and others.

The author gives a translation of the *Puṇyaśloka Manjari.* In this (p. 32) he says that the Maṭha at Śringeri about the close of the 14th century was revived by Vidyāraṇya who was sent for this purpose. We do not know whether this is an inference drawn from *Gururatnamāla* or *Suśama* since *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* itself does not refer to it. Much less can it be said that Vidyāraṇya founded Vijayanagar from *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* itself. It is quite possible, however, that Vidyāraṇya founded the empire of Vijayanagar.

S. S.

EDITORIAL

INDIA under the Nāga dynasty and the Vākataka empire are two most important matters dealt with under the heading Nāga-Vākataka Imperial Period by K. P. Jayaswal in his *History of India* first published in Vol. XIX, Parts I and II of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1933. Dealing with the later Vākataka period, the author refers to the wealth of the second Vākataka empire which enabled even a minister to excavate and decorate with paintings a Chaitya at Ajanta. The influence of Ayodhya is discussed by him in Part III. It cannot be gainsaid that Ayodhya is rich in traditions which embody our Hindu civilization and it is important to note that Samudragupta fully imbibed that tradition. He expanded the domains of his empire and represented the Hindu imperialistic ideal at its best. The story of his conquests is a narrative of the rule of law conditioned by Dharma.

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Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala deals with the Pre-Kushana Art of Madhura in Vol. VI, Part II of the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society* and summarises the achievement of the Kushana artists under four heads: (i) The figure of the Buddha was carved in stone for the first time, (ii) Images of various Brahmanical deities were made, (iii) The ancient cult of Yaksha worship was perfected conforming in composition and technique to the Sānchi and Barhut traditions, and (iv) Yet sectarian character was preserved in their work. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji discusses in the same volume the problem of early Mauryan chronology and history. He regards that the date of Chandragupta's accession to the sovereignty was 323 B.C. and not 317 B.C. Unfortunately, the writer does not consider the reference to the twelve years' famine and Chandragupta accompanying Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevali to Śravaṇabelagola in the far south. If this southern migration be true, then it may be possible to fix the period of his reign with a little more certainty. The reason which led to the migration would also be a matter for consideration.

***

In his article on the cultural affinities between India and Africa published in the *Man in India*, Vol. XIII, No. I, Jiban

Krishna Gan quoting R. D. Oldham considers that India was once connected with Africa by land. Similarities of the fauna and flora of these regions apart, other reasons are given. The cretaceous rocks of Madagascar and the cretaceous beds of Southern India are supposed to compare very favourably. Palæolithic industries seem to point in the same direction. Proceeding to ethnographic considerations, the boomerang is said to mark a further instance. An examination of the bows and arrows in use in India is regarded as giving useful results. The fire-drill, habitations, string figures, immolation are other items in which fruitful comparisons have been made.

***

A Korean eighth century bronze image of the healing Buddha is the gift of Edward Jackson Holmes in memory of his mother and is reproduced in Vol. XXXI, No. 185, of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*. It is heavily gilded and represents the supreme lord of medicine in the Buddhist Pantheon who responds to prayers and cures as well as prevents ailments, both temporal and spiritual. This statue is considered an example of the supreme height of sculpture in bronze attained by the Koreans while the very pose of the Buddha here and his benign countenance suggest ease and compassion creating in the mind of the seer a sense of human, yet superhuman kindliness.

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In the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. II, No. 1, Mr. M. A. Ramaswami Sastri concludes his interesting article on the Doctrine of Sphota. Not merely artha but also dhvani is treated as vivarta of sphota and, according to Bhatṛhari, the experiences of differences are mere superimpositions (adhyāsas) based on the different cognitions of śabda as manifester and manifested. He also gives the conception of śabda by other systems of philosophy such as the Naiyāyika, Mīmāmsaka and Vaiyākaraṇa.

***

We are told that Keśirāja of the thirteenth century was not a Jain but a Brahman by Srinivasa Rangacharya in the *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika* for October 1932. This question requires more careful scrutiny than is possible in a short note. It is difficult to say that the premises of the author point to the conclusions which he derives therefrom.

Books received during the Quarter ending 30th June 1933.

Presented by: —

Authors—

Asanas, Pt. I: Yoga Series, Vol. I—by Swami Kuvalayananda.

Sankaracharya and his Kamakoti Peetha—by N. K. Venkatesam Panthalu.

Govinda Deekshita—by N. K. Venkatesam Panthalu.

Government of Mysore—

Village Panchayets Administration Report, 1931-32.

Live-Stock Section Report, 1931-32.

Revenue Administration Report, 1931-32.

Mysore Treasuries Report, 1931-32.

Yogasrama, Madras—

Hindu Pharmacopœia—by A. R. S. Sundaram.

Government of India—

Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan—by Sir Aurel Stein and Fred. H. Andrews.

Sir Charles Todhunter—

Chapters of the English Black Monks, Vol. II—by W. A. Pantin.

Government of Cochin—

Cochin Archæological Report for 1931-32.

University of Mysore—

The Calendar for 1931-32, Vol. II.

The Calendar for 1932-33, Vol. I.

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Administration Report, 1931-32.

By purchase:—

Indian Antiquary: Index to Vols. I—L.

(1872-1921), Vol. I—by L. M. Anstey.

Do. Vol. II—by L. M. Anstey.

Indian Annual Register, 1932, Vol. II—by Mitra.

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The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XXIV OCTOBER, 1933 No. 2

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, 6th September 1933

THE HON'BLE LT.-COL. C. T. C. PLOWDEN, C.I.E.
in the Chair

THE Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, the 6th September 1933 at 5-30 P.M. with the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. C. T. C. Plowden, C.I.E., British Resident in Mysore, in the Chair, when a large number of members and friends were present.

On behalf of Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, President of the Society who was unavoidably absent on the occasion, Principal F. R. Sell, in offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting, delivered the following:

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Permit me to offer, on behalf of the members of the Mythic Society, a hearty welcome to our esteemed British Resident, the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Plowden. He is not a stranger to us, for he was Secretary to the Resident in

Mysore in 1919 and he was here for about three years. After he left us he has had a distinguished career in a number of Native States and he has now come back to us with more knowledge and more experience. It has been our good fortune that all the predecessors of our present Resident have been kind and considerate to us and Colonel Plowden has shown himself ready to walk in the same path. We may all fully hope that under his distinguished support the Mythic Society will make substantial further progress. We may take this opportunity of once again offering our tribute of gratitude to the memory of Sir Stuart Pears, one of our former Residents whose support procured for us a yearly grant-in-aid from the Government of India. As a member of the Mythic Society by mere association, my mind travels back to the Residents of former days who represented the British Government at the Court of Mysore. The first Resident was Barry Close and he so successfully co-operated with Purnaiya, the Minister, in putting down the disorders that had occurred after the fall of Tippu, that the latter when he established the new town of what is now known as Closepet, to arrest the outrages committed by the robbers who were infesting the Ramagiri hill close by, named it after the Resident and even now a pillar in the town commemorates this event. In an inscription on this pillar Close is referred to as a friend of Mysore. The next Resident Webbe's association with Mysore is commemorated by a Pillar at some distance from Seringapatam, which has now acquired the incongruous name of Rana Kamba or War Pillar, on account of a military engagement that took place near by, between some mutinous British soldiers and the Mysore troops sent to arrest the march of the mutineers. The name of Wilkes is well known to all as he wrote for the first time a detailed history of Mysore. Sir John Malcolm is remembered by the large Hall which is attached to the building known as the lower Residency at Mysore which he constructed on the occasion of his marriage. The Hon'ble A. H. Cole held office as Resident for nearly 17 years and a tract of ground near the Banni Mantap in Mysore goes by the name of

Cole's Garden. Other Residents whose names are remembered even now, are Cubbon, Bowring, Gordon, who were also Chief Commissioners, Robertson, Fraser and Daly.

Cubbon rides in solitary grandeur in Cubbon Park before the Public Offices in Bangalore. Bowring, Robertson and Fraser come next. The first two are known by the towns which bear their names and the last by the petta in his name in the C. and M. Station. Gordon's Statue at Mysore is a familiar sight to all. Sir Hugh Daly's name is honourably connected with this hall. It is a Memorial to him. As far as I have been able to look into the past history of several of the Residents and as far as I have personally known some of the later Residents, it is a pleasure to me to say that they have all along done their best to befriend the cause of Mysore, sometimes even in opposition to their own Government, and the people of Mysore should ever be under a debt of gratitude to them.

Now, Sir, we are sure you will be no exception to the galaxy of Residents that we have had in the past and I request you to accept our welcome which comes to you sincerely from our heart and perform the functions of the day as Chairman of this meeting.

***

Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, then read the following report for the year 1932–33:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1932–33

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening the Annual Report for 1932–33.

We deeply deplore the demise of the following: Sir Dorabji Tata, an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, Rajadharmapravina C. S. Doraswami Iyer, Mr. S. Shamanna, and Mr. G. R. Carline of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Membership.—Membership continues steady. Members in arrears are requested to be so good as to clear them up at an early date. We renew our appeal to our members to introduce new members to the Society and augment its strength.

Meetings.—Several meetings were held during the year. We are grateful to our Patron His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and the Palace for the exhibition of cinema films relating to His Highness' trip to Kailāsa and Mānasarovara which were shown on the 15th August 1932. Dr. M. H. Krishna delivered an interesting illustrated lecture on "Mohenjo-Daro" and Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's lecture on "Temple Worship in the History of Indian Religious Development" was well appreciated. Mr. S. Srikantaya also gave two interesting lectures on "The Heavenly Mansions of the Hindus". An illustrated lecture on "Chandragiri" was by Mr. V. N. Srinivasa Rao.

Finance.—The receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 3,737–13–0 including an opening balance of Rs. 208–9–6 and expenditure incurred was Rs. 3,683–0–6, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 54–12–6.

The cut of Rs. 50 per mensem in our grants for the last two years is a great hardship and we are unable to give any attention even to the ordinary activities of the Society. Our periodicals have to be bound and preserved in book-cases which costs money. Funds are equally wanted for purchase of new books. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja have been pleased to continue the temporary but now reduced grant of Rs. 50 for another period of three years up to May 1936. We have been renewing our appeal to the Government to restore the grants and we trust general financial conditions will enable the Government to place us in a better position at no distant date.

We are highly thankful to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam of the Bank of Mysore for very kindly continuing to audit the accounts of the Society.

Reading Room.—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Society during the year was

2,628. Daily newspapers and many other periodicals are placed on the table. For purposes of convenience, the more important journals are kept in a separate almirah in the office room, always available to readers.

Library.—Few books have been added to the Library by purchase. Presentation of books continues, however. The binding of periodicals to be placed in the Library and the acquisition of missing numbers have been progressing, though it has not been possible to do much in this direction. Every effort is being made to make our Library more and more useful to research workers.

We shall gratefully welcome the presentation to the Society of valuable books and periodicals in the subjects in which we are interested. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai, the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta and Dacca and the Annamalai University and the various authors and publishers for sending works for review.

The Director of Public Instruction in Mysore has again promised us to send more books to the Library for which we are grateful.

In addition to lack of funds, want of space is a great handicap for us to equip the Society for research work on a sound and satisfactory basis, as stated in the last year's report.

Journal.—*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is becoming increasingly popular among the learned and the standard set up for it by its founders is well maintained. The articles, reviews and editorials appearing in it are widely appreciated and every effort is being made to make it a leading literary periodical on antiquarian research.

Exchanges.—Our exchanges include almost all the learned periodicals of the world and form a very valuable addition to the Library.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Hall and premises are in good condition. During the year under review, the annual conferences

of the All-India Engineers' Association, the Agricultural and Experimental Union and the Motor Bus Owners' Association, amongst others, were held in the Daly Memorial Hall.

General.—An award of Rs. 50 for an approved essay on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama" was announced in the last year's report; but unfortunately no essays were received before the prescribed period. The donor has proposed to renew the award with some modifications and it is in contemplation to make an early announcement in the matter.

It is our pleasant duty to offer our congratulations to the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. R. J. C. Burke, till recently British Resident in Mysore and Diwan Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachariar, Dewan of Baroda on the knighthoods conferred on them during the year. We also congratulate Rajamantrapravina Mr. K. Matthan and Mr. R. V. Krishnan on the distinction of Diwan Bahadur conferred upon them, Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on his becoming a Rajasevasakta and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao on the double distinctions he has secured, *viz.*, Rajacharitavisarada and Rao Sahib within the short space of a few months.

In conclusion, we beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore, the Government of Mysore and the Government of India for their continued and generous and sympathetic support of the Mythic Society.

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Mr. Sell proposed the adoption of the Report and in doing so referred to the excellent services of the Society's indefatigable and energetic Secretary, Mr. Srikantaya and said that the most sincere thanks of the Society were due to Mr. Srikantaya. He suggested that these remarks may be embodied in the Report. The Report with the addition, on being seconded by Mr. Justice K. Sankaranarayana Rao, was duly adopted.

Mr. Justice M. Ramachandra Rao next proposed that Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao be re-elected the President of the

Society for the ensuing year and Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao seconded the proposition. The proposition was carried with acclamation.

Proposed by Mr. D. Venkatramiah and seconded by Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected for the several offices and to the Committee:—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.
Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.
Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.
Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.
Mr. K. Chandy.
Mr. K. Matthan.
Mr. R. Narasimhachar.
Dr. E. P. Metcalfe.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Mr. F. R. Sell.
Mr. K. Devanathachariar.
Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries for

Ethnology—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.
History—Rev. C. Browne.
Folklore—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

Members :

The above *ex-officio* and
Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar.
Dr. R. Shama Sastri.
Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.
Mr. A. R. Wadia.
Dr. M. H. Krishna.
Mr. K. H. Ramayya.*
Mr. S. Shamanna.
Dr. C. B. Rama Rao.

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* Since deceased.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

It is a very great pleasure to me that I have been given an opportunity to take part in the deliberations of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society. I greatly appreciate your kind invitation to me to be the Honorary President and to occupy the Chair this evening and I thank you for the honour you have done me.

The pleasure of associating myself with the Mythic Society is enhanced by the fact that this is an institution in which my predecessors have taken a genuine and lively interest and that the hall in which we are assembled—the home of this Society—is named after one of my distinguished predecessors, Sir Hugh Daly. Gentlemen, I can assure you that I shall always evince the greatest interest in this Society.

It is not within the sphere of a Resident to attempt to unravel the tangled threads of history and archæology. His activities lie in a different field. So it is not as a savant, but as a layman interested in your activities and anxious to acquire knowledge that I stand in your midst.

It is now eleven years since I was last in Bangalore. During that period the Society has sustained a great loss in the death in 1926 of its Founder-President, Father Tabard (whom I knew well), who guided its destinies for over sixteen years from 1909. Even at this distance of time, I would like to pay a tribute to his indefatigable energy and indomitable perseverance which led to the formation and subsequent development of the Mythic Society. Though severed from our midst by the hand of death, it may be that his spirit still watches over us and rejoices to find that the Society of which he was "the life and soul" maintains its vigour undiminished. I find that his friends and admirers have instituted a medal to be awarded every year for the best essay on a prescribed topic connected with the objects of the Mythic Society. It would be difficult to think of a better way of perpetuating the memory of Father Tabard.

Anyone who takes stock of the twenty-four years which have passed since the Society was founded cannot but be struck by the great progress which it has made during that period. We have all listened with great interest to the report which has just been read by Mr. Srikantaya. The Society may well feel proud of its record of all-round progress. Its membership is maintained and the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* has established a reputation of its own.

I am glad to note that the financial position of the Mythic Society is satisfactory. But it cannot be forgotten that several important schemes which, if carried out, would add to the usefulness of the Society are held up owing to insufficiency of funds. As stated by the Secretary and Treasurer, "want of space is a great handicap .... to equip the Society for research work on a sound and satisfactory basis". Fortunately Mysore is a State in which we find numerous instances of the manifestation of public spirit in a practical manner. His Highness the Maharaja never fails to give the lead in the advancement of culture. It is to his munificence that we owe this splendid hall. Wherever we cast our eyes in this hall we find abundant proof of that sense of public spirit which has animated, and which I hope will continue to animate, its well-wishers.

I am sorry to see, from the annual report, that, though a prize was offered for an essay on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama", no entries were received within the prescribed period. Mysore is the ancient home of Kanarese literature and there is no lack of talent.

One of the important activities of the Mythic Society is historical research. The Mysore State offers a unique field for the research student. Anyone who has had the pleasure of travelling through Mysore or who has studied that monumental work of Lewis Rice, the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the encyclopædia of archæological research in Mysore, and the annual reports of the Archæological Department, will be struck by the vast possibilities which Mysore affords to the historian. The Edicts of Asoka in the north-eastern parts of

the State, Sravanabelagola, a spot hallowed by the footsteps of that Jain saint, Bhadrabahu, and where Chandragupta Maurya—a name famous in Indian history—spent the evening of his life after having given up the mantle of an emperor for the garb of a hermit, are treasures of historical interest. Then again, the recent excavations at Chandravalli have opened up a virgin field for the research scholar. Though excavation work has for the time being been suspended, I hope that, when the work is resumed, it may lead to the unearthing of an ancient city so that we may then call Chandravalli the Mohenjo-Daro of the South.

Gentlemen, I am confident that the Mythic Society has a bright future before it. In your President, Rao Bahadur Shama Rao, whom I may call the Nestor of scholars in Mysore, you have a wise guide and in Mr. Śrikantaya, you have an enthusiastic Secretary and Treasurer.

If I may recall the words of a former Chairman, the "first idea in founding the Society was to bring more intimately together both Indians and Europeans" so that they might "discuss in a friendly way the fascinating problems connected with Indian history ......". Gentlemen, it is that spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation which we may all hope may be brought to bear in solving not only the intricate problems of Indian history but also other and greater problems connected with this great land.

In conclusion, I commend the many-sided activities of the Mythic Society to each and every educated man so that the Society may develop into a great centre of scholarship and research. I wish the Society a long career of increasing utility not only to Mysore but to all India.

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Mr. Sell proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman of the evening in suitable terms.

With three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the meeting terminated.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

THE MYTHIC

Statement of Receipts and

Receipts	Amount Rs.	A.	P.
1. Opening Balance	208	9	6
2. Subscription—			
Resident Members	175	0	0
Moffussil Members	476	8	0
Life-Members	25	0	0
3. Grants—			
Government of Mysore	1,500	0	0
Government of India	300	0	0
4. Interest and Dividends	703	10	0
5. Recoveries from Staff	210	0	0
6. Sales	41	1	6
7. Hall Charges	48	0	0
8. Advertisement Charges	50	0	0
Total ..	3,737	13	0

Reserve Fund—

	At Face Value Rs.	A.	P.
1. Mysore State Loan 6 ¼ % Stock	9,850	0	0
2. Mysore State Loan 6 ¼ % Bonds	200	0	0
3. Mysore State Loan 5 % Bonds	1,500	0	0
4. Mysore Bank Share (one)	100	0	0
Total ..	11,650	0	0

Certified correct.

T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hon. Auditor.

SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Expenditure for the year 1932—33.

PAYMENTS	AMOUNT		
	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment—			
Pay of the Staff	1,092	0	0
Lighting Charges	185	12	0
Bicycle Account	17	1	0
Garden	70	14	0
Premises	64	13	0
Furniture	11	0	0
Electrical Accessories and Repairs	32	9	6
Livery	13	7	6
2. Journal—			
Printing	1,200	0	0
Postage	412	10	0
Typing	7	4	0
3. Library—			
Books Purchased	60	6	0
Subscription to Newspapers	80	8	0
Book Binding	102	12	0
Miscellaneous	42	10	0
4. Advance to Staff	50	0	0
5. Stationery	85	7	6
6. Bank's Charges	6	7	0
7. Miscellaneous	147	7	0
8. Closing Balance	54	12	6
TOTAL ..	3,737	13	0

Details for Closing Balance—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. In the Bank of Mysore	40	15	3
2. With the Curator	4	7	1
With the Branch Secretaries	9	6	2
TOTAL ..	54	12	6

S. SRIKANTAYA,
Secretary and Treasurer.

ADVAITA AND SANNYASA

By Swami Jagadiswarananda

Advaita is the peak of spirituality and Sannyasa is the *summum bonum* of life according to Hindu religion. These two words, Advaita and Sannyasa, indefatigably recur in Hindu Shastras especially in treatises of Sankara and his school. But their meaning has unfortunately been twisted and tortured and their implication misunderstood. It has been said quite often that Sannyasa is anti-social and that Advaita is a myth. But in the unforeseen life of Sri Ramakrishna, latest apostle of renascent Hinduism, Advaita and Sannyasa have again been reaffirmed and reinterpreted in hitherto unknown and quite a new light. Hinduism is revitalised, nay reborn, in the life of Ramakrishna. Let us then see from a study of his spiritual experiences what Advaita and Sannyasa can contribute to the solution of world problems as regards philosophy and religion.

In the Rig Veda, the oldest scripture of Hinduism, we find distinctly the doctrine of Advaita in an unequivocal way from the passages such as "Ekam Sat Viprâ Bahudhâ Vadanti," *i.e.*, Ultimate Truth is One-without-a-second though seers describe it variously. Again the Bhagavat Gita, the grandest gloss on the Vedas, amplifies in a marvellous way the doctrines of Advaita and Sannyasa so much so that we can safely say with Wilhelm von Humboldt that the Gita is the most beautiful, perhaps the only true philosophical song existing in any known tongue *expounding the principles of religious harmony*. The Gita is so very universal in its gospel that it surpasses any sacred scripture in the world in the breadth and depth of vision and outlook on life and religion. In the modern age the life of Ramakrishna is perhaps the greatest living commentary of the Gita. It is no exaggeration to say that he was the personification of the Gita. The message of the Gita cannot be properly comprehended without the life and teachings of

Sri Ramakrishna. The true import of the Gita which is a religious harmony and a spiritual synthesis has been literally lived by Ramakrishna. Romain Rolland has truly said that he is the culmination of spiritual culture of at least three thousand years of three hundred and thirty millions of people, for Ramakrishna exemplified in his life the hoary experience of the Hindu race through the ages.

Advaita and Sannyasa are almost synonymous. Sannyasa is Advaita or Religion of the Absolute lived and Advaita is the religion of the Sannyasa. Upon the bed-rock of Advaita modern Hinduism in and through Ramakrishna has built a wonderful and unprecedented edifice of spiritual symphony of the conflicting creeds of the modern world. This genius of religious harmony is most creative in the new age. After practising successfully the spiritual disciplines of the different schools of Hinduism, namely, Tantraism, Vaishnavism, Saivism, and others culminating in Advaita, Sri Ramakrishna practised the religions of Islam and Christianity. He was blessed with divine visions of the personal Godhead, in the forms of Mahomed and Christ, the respective goals of those semitic faiths. Then his mind soared higher and was merged in the vision of the Transcendental Absolute, 'beyond mind and words'—*avāngmānasagocharam*. Hence philosophically Advaita is the real destination of Islam and Christianity although it is generally overlooked; and Muslim Sufis and Christian mystics who testify to this impersonal super-conscious experience are, in the true sense of the term, Advaitins.

Deha-buddhi or body-idea being predominant in average man, he cannot but conceive God as man and in man. Man is so concrete in constitution and human in mind that he must realize the humanity of God, *i.e.*, God as a person magnified to the infinite degree. So man visualises God in the form on which he meditates, though God has no fixed or patent form. Mind-stuff is cast into the mould of the image of the meditator's chosen deity. So, personal forms of God are creations, rather projections of the human mind and they only exist as long as the mind. Mind can only grasp the personal

aspect of Godhead. But if the aspirant persists in his spiritual search he will be blessed with the Impersonal and Immanent aspect and finally the Transcendental and Absolute aspect of the Ultimate Reality which is supra-mental, *i.e.*, beyond mind. So man sees God on the physical plane, as personal; on the mental plane as semi-personal or Immanent and on the spirit plane as the Absolute. This super-conscious state is described by Hinduism as Samadhi; by Buddhism as Nirvana; by the mystics as Eternal Rest and so on. This state of Advaita or Absolute Oneness is not the goal only of Hinduism but of all religions as well. But it fell to Hinduism systematically to develop it as a full-fledged science whereas in other religions it had an arrested growth or checked development. Yet the idea is latent in all religions. As all the personal aspects of God professed by different faiths are personal manifestations of the same impersonal and Absolute Reality, so on the basement of the Advaita alone, apparently opposed sects of Hinduism and other religions can be beautifully harmonized.

Hinduism thus classifies the variety of religious experiences into dualistic (personal), the semi-unitistic (immanent) and the monistic (absolute) kinds. A comparative study of religions will reveal that triune nature of Godhead underlies each of them. Like the Hindu conception of Brahma, Iswara, and Avatar, Christianity also preaches Holy Trinity, namely, God the Father, God the Holy Ghost and God the Son or Christ. Mahayana Buddhist conceptions of Dharma Kaya, Sambhoga Kaya and Nirmana Kaya and Chinese conception of Tao, Ti and Laotze correspond to the same Trinitarian idea. If we thus recognize the trinity of Godhead in all religions, religious harmony comes within the reach of every religion and it will never look like a day dream as many are inclined to suppose.

Man starts his spiritual search as a dualist and ends it in the vision of the Advaita, the acme of spiritual evolution. Dualism is not an end in itself but a stepping stone, a means to Advaita. Vaishnavism, Saivism and Christianity are

religious dualisms and do not, therefore, recognize Advaita. One is a Saivite or a Christian as the chosen ideal is Shiva, or the Ishtam is Christ and so on. Human nature varies with each individual, so one's path cannot but be different from that of another. Man has got to select his Ishtam suitable to the temperament and bent of his mind. Path to God cannot be imposed on any one by an external agency. It is an irony of fate that theological crudities of every religion have tried to strait-jacket the whole of humanity in one way alone and this is the root of all religious rivalry though such a thing can never happen to humanity. Hinduism, of course, grants freedom to the individual in choosing his way to God, with this dictum that Advaita is the limit of spiritual endeavour. But an individual, say a Saivite who is so called because his Ishtam is Shiva, does no longer remain a Saivite when he transcends the boundary of personal Godhead and enters the realm of the Advaita or the Transcendental Absolute. The same case applies to the Christian, Muslim and Vaishnavite. The man whose God-consciousness was so long confined to a particular personal form of God now sees him in all his multifarious forms in the impersonal immanent plane. He can adore in the same breath Shiva, Vishnu, Mahomed and Christ, etc., with equal devotion as Sri Ramakrishna did.

So long as there is the body-idea, the form-consciousness of God-vision persists, and the overwhelming majority cannot go beyond the idea of the personal Godhead, for impersonal realization requires exceptional purity and other mental and moral qualifications of an extraordinary type which are vouchsafed only to a microscopic few. But when man comes to the Advaita plane of spiritual realization, then alone is he fit to be initiated into Sannyasa. So a Sannyasi is always and must be an Advaitin ; no matter how he started his spiritual life whether as a Hindu, or a Christian, or a Muslim. That is why Sankara laid so much emphasis on Advaita and Sannyasa. Sannyasa is an achievement, a state of Advaita realization beyond name and form, body and mind.

Whosoever attains to this stage is a Sannyasin and none else. So a Sannyasin is an Advaitin, and he cannot be called a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Muslim or a Christian. He has no religion in the sense organized religions are now generally accepted and understood. But he belongs to Absolute, Cosmic and Eternal religion of which different religions are but different facets. All the world teachers perceived, preached and professed the one eternal religion of Advaita but they delivered their message in the language of the local people according to the needs of the time and mortals have labelled their teachings as Buddhism, Hinduism and so on. But Absolutism exists in all religions in some form or other, in Islam as Sufism, in Christianity as mysticism, in Buddhism as Zenism and so on.

Advaitism is the religion of Sannyasa and this is the ideal of Vedic Sannyasa whose scriptures are the Upanishads. In Advaitism all religions are harmonised and the Sannyasin at least ideally is a living embodiment of such a spiritual synthesis. But a lower state of Sannyasa is also allowed, namely, Vividisha Sannyasa which is almost academical or institutional to which modern monks belong. According to Hinduism Sannyasa is a super-social institution. A Sannyasin is not a member of the society. He is considered as a dead man, a man beyond the pale of social laws. Sannyasa is not anti-social but the logical fulfilment of Hindu social ideals, and of all religions. Thus a Sufi is not a Mahomedan; a Sannyasin is not a Hindu; a Mystic is not a Christian and a Bhikshu is not a Buddhist. Though they were born and brought up in their inherited faiths now they have transcended them. Truly it is said that it is good to be born in a Church but it is bad to die there. Nevertheless all religions save Hinduism have fear of Truth and seem disinclined to interpret their doctrines in this light. Hinduism alone can boldly face the latest findings of modern thought and meet the challenge of the age. All other religions are static as it were but Hinduism alone is dynamic and creative from age to age. On the basis of Advaita Hindu religion is expanding from

century to century through the eternal line of its apostles. Modern Hinduism in the present era has considerably gained from expansion and assimilation in and through Sri Ramakrishna, breaking all previous records. As in the past so in the present she is ready to accommodate rival faiths in her catholic bosom.

Hindus now can worship Christ and Mahomed as their Ishtams as they do in the case of Shiva, Rama, Vishnu and Krishna, without formal conversion into other faiths. Sri Ramakrishna who practically ended the conversion controversy lived and taught this message to modern Hindus. Conversion will curtail their religious freedom. Hinduism, on the other hand, will give infinite scope and liberalism to develop their spirituality in all possible ways. For a Muslim or a Christian it is sin to worship other gods except their own and that in their personal aspects only while exclusion and excommunication are unknown to Hinduism though other religions are past-masters in this respect. So in and through Ramakrishna renascent Hinduism has accepted Christ and Mahomed in its pantheon as divine incarnations and has removed religious rivalry which confronted India for centuries. The movement inaugurated by Ramakrishna and his chief disciple Vivekananda does not believe in any formal conversion but in cultural and spiritual assimilation.

How are Christ and Mahomed to be accommodated in Neo-Hinduism? The Ramakrishna Mission has already attempted this task. Some Christians and Muslims have already joined the monastic order of the Mission. They still adhere to their personal faiths. Only they have supplemented them with Advaita which they could not do in their respective folds. Some even go to the length of calling themselves Christian members of the Ramakrishna order. No religion in the world can be as bold as Hinduism and Advaita and Sannyasa present the challenge of Hinduism to all existing religions. Ordinarily they are Muslim, Hindu or Christian according to their respective Ishtams but when they become Sannyasins with the progress of their spiritual unfoldment they become

Advaitins and nothing else. This is the newest feature of modern Hinduism. Thus and thus alone can India accept Christ and Mahomed and in no other way. In the Himalayan Advaita Ashrama founded by Swami Vivekananda of hallowed memory, no personal god is worshipped by the resident monks but only the Absolute Reality. It is meant for the Absolutists alone of all religions. Truth in its relative aspects is many but in its absolute aspect is One-without-a-second. Different religions are different readings of the same Absolute from different planes of mind.

In the Ramakrishna order which is a non-sectarian brotherhood adherents of different religions embrace each other on the basis of Advaita. The memorial temple of Vivekananda at the Mission headquarters enshrines 'Om', the mystic symbol of one Reality. The Ananda Ashrama of the Mission in California instals and worships all the prophets of the world equally as do some other centres of the Mission in India. Nativity of almost all world teachers is celebrated by the Mission in many places. This is not enough. The Time-Spirit demands every Hindu temple to be a Parliament of Religions. The Scriptural name of Hinduism is Sanatana Dharma or Eternal Religion in which all religions are harmonized. Hinduism is as deep as time and as wide as space. It has the eternal vigour and youth always ready for any adjustment. On the basis of Advaita and Sannyasa a new perfection, a new culture, will grow co-ordinating the entire world of thought and activity. While the spirit of liberalism and universalism is at work very actively in all religions, it is most manifest in Hinduism.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIII, No. 4, p. 473*)

III.—General Culture

Religion: (*a*) *Evolution.*—We may now proceed to deal with religion in Mysore during the period: Vīraśaivism, in its popular form, the Jaṅgama creed, was the prevailing religion in the Karṇāṭaka country—including the principality of Mysore—in the latter part of the sixteenth century and early in the seventeenth. According to *Chennabasavapurāṇa*[124] by Virūpāksha Paṇḍita, this religion, which appears to have been on the wane during the years immediately following the battle of Tāḷikoṭa, was revived in full vitality and vigour in or about 1584, with the inauguration of the rule of Vīra Vasanta Bhūpāla in Basavapaṭṭaṇa in Southern Karṇāṭaka on the banks of the Kāvērī. Temples and *Maṭhas* are said to have been constructed in Basavapaṭṭaṇa and the religion of Basavaṇṇa spread in the surrounding tracts through Jaṅgama priests or saints. Although the historicity of Vīra Vasanta may be open to question, the prevalence of the religion in its new form is testified by the epigraphical records of the period. The Kanarese chiefs who followed this religion, usually called themselves *Waḍeyars*[125] (Woḍeyars, Oḍeyars—meaning *Lords*), taking the title apparently from their spiritual preceptors, whereas those chiefs who had already professed the faith, continued their honorific title, as in the case of the rulers of the principalities of[126] Mysore, Ummattur, Talakāḍ, Ammachavāḍi and so forth.

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124 V, 10, pp. 423-425.

125 The word is variously spelt in the original documents, *Waḍeyar* being the most colloquial form.

126 *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, pp. 9-11.

Vīraśaivism in the *Kannaḍa* country flourished under the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara, particularly in the viceroyalty of Seringapatam. We may note some interesting instances in this connection: Rāmarājayya, in 1576,[127] recorded a charter setting apart lands in Terakaṇāmbi for the food of the great Mahant Gangādharadeva of the senior *Maṭha* of Nanjangud, virtuous and of pure *Śivāchāra*, together with *Jaṅgama Chatra* (feeding house for the Jaṅgamas). An inscription of Tirumala, dated 1604,[128] records the building of a Lingāyat *Maṭha* in the Vīréśvara temple at Śivanasamudram for the feeding of the Jaṅgamas. Another inscription[129] of 1605 records the grant by the chiefs of *Arakoṭhāra* for the offerings, etc., to the family god Vīréśvara or Vīrabhadra, during the reign of Venkaṭapati Rāya (Venkaṭa I). It is interesting to note[130] that a grant of lands in the Maḷalavāḍi country to Rudragaṇa of Nanjarājapaṭṭaṇa for the service of Annadāni Mallikārjuna, is recorded to have been made by Tirumala in the presence of 'one lakh and ninety-six thousand Jaṅgama deities,' while another inscription[131] records the grant of a village by Tirumala to Hoḷinahaḷa Lingaṇṇa of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa *Maṭha* (evidently another Jaṅgama *Maṭha*).

Forms of religion other than Vīraśaivism likewise flourished, and were tolerated by the rulers. It is significant to note that in his grant,[132] dated 1576, Rāmarājayya provided also for the Brāhmaṇa *satra* (feeding house for Brahmans of all sects), while another record,[133] a grant by Tirumala, dated 1604, specifically refers to the feeding of Brahmans.

The Waḍeyars of the principality of Mysore in this period (1565-1610), though they appear to have professed the doctrines of the Jaṅgama creed, showed predilection for the

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[127] *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 21.
[128] *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52.
[129] *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 82.
[130] *E.C.*, IV (2) Hs. 36.
[131] *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 194.
[132] *Vide* f.n. 127.
[133] *Vide* f.n. 128.

cult of *Vishṇu*. This is indicated by the earliest extant grant[134] of the dynasty, dated 1598. It records a grant by Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (younger brother of Rāja Waḍeyar), of *Ātreyasa Gotra* and *Āśvalāyana Sūtra*, of lands for *Rāmānuja-kūṭa* (assembly of the followers of Rāmānuja) and a *Chatra* (inn) in the precincts of the Janārdana Swāmi temple at Beḷagoḷa where arrangements were made for the feeding of twenty Śri Vaishṇavas and thirty *Vaidikas* every day. The mention of *Śaiva* and *Vishṇu* temples at Nanjangud, Tiru-makūḍlu, Beḷagoḷa, Seringapatam and Melkote respectively, in the record, would indicate that Śaivism and Vaishṇavism flourished side by side in the viceroyalty, of which the principality of Mysore was a component part, and that the Mysore Royal House paid equal attention to both the cults.

With the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar (in 1610), Vaishṇavism found *greater* favour with the Mysore Royal House; and the theory that kingly power was based on service to gods and Brahmans began to take definite shape also.[135] The earliest historical poem[136] and the grants[137] of Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617) reveal that while Rāja Waḍeyar and his illustrious younger brother, Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (who was of considerable assistance to him in the acquisition of Seringapatam) were more inclined towards the cult of Vishṇu, they paid due regard to Śaivism and Śakti worship as well, more so, since Goddess Chāmuṇ-ḍeśwari was, as now, the tutelary deity of the Family.

Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-37), the successor of Rāja Waḍeyar, is[138] stated to have been a worshipper of both Vishṇu and Śiva (*Vishṇvīśa-pūjah*), and his[139] grants point to equal attention to both the forms of religion. He was, we learn,[140] an establisher of six *darśanas* or schools of philosophy

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134 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52.
135 *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 30.
136 *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam*, Ch. III, p. 42.
137 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 116, IV (2) Ch. 200, etc.
138 *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23.
139 *E.C.*, III (1) My. 17, SR. 36, etc.
140 *E.C.*, II SB. 250.

(*Saddarśana dharma sthāpanāchārya*) and was noted for the catholicity of his religious outlook. While he favoured Brahmans, he showed toleration to the Jains. Chāmarāja, we are told,[141] visited Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa while on a tour, and felt much when he heard that the Jaina Guru Chārukīrti Paṇḍita Yōgīndra of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa had left that place to Bhallātakīpura because of obstacles to the worship of Gomaṭeśvara said to have been caused by Jagadeva Rāyal, the previous ruler. Chāmarāja, we note, immediately arranged for the recall of the Yōgi from the latter place and accorded him a fitting reception in Seringapatam, conferring on him many honours, including grant of lands adjacent to Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. The Yōgi is stated to have returned to Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa after obtaining the king's consent for the accession of Vimalārya, as his successor to the Pontificate. Thus was laid the foundation for friendly relations between the Mysore Royal House and the Pontificate of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. Not only this. In 1634, we learn[142] from inscriptions, Chāmarāja released the temple lands of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa by paying up the mortgage debts himself, and conferred on the *sthānikas* perpetual use of the property for the God's worship.

Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-38) was, we note,[143] a devotee of Vishṇu while preserving the earlier traditions. It was, however, with the accession of Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar (1638-59) that the religious outlook of the Royal Family became more and more marked and significant than in the earlier period. The idea of theocracy found definite expression in the belief[144] that Kanṭhīrava was an incarnation of God Nṛhari born on the day of Mahājayanti. One inscription[145] specifically states that the king was taken by the people for God and that he had placed all his burdens at the feet of Nṛhari.

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141 *Munivamśābhyudaya*, vv. 21-54.
142 *E.C.*, II SB. 250 and 352.
143 *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 35.
144 *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 198.
145 *E.C.*, V (1) Ag. 64.

While Kanṭhīrava followed the cult of Vishṇu in all its details, he popularised it also and spread it among the masses. Thus, we are told,[146] 'Seeing that from love of money the people had forgotten Vishṇu, the wise king Kanṭhīrava made from that money Nṛhari and preserved the people. Inquiring into the sayings of the *Veda* and *Smṛti* and ascertaining the meaning of all Śāstras, in accordance with the intentions of both, he caused all to worship Lakshmī Narasimha's two feet on Ekādaśi and also to perform that (*Ekādaśi*) *vrata* like Ambarīṣa and other kings.' This spirit found definite expression in the issue of gold coins after his name (*Kanṭhīrāya haṇam*) in 1645,[147] and in the[148] construction of a temple to God Lakshmī Narasimha in Seringapatam where the king's magnificent *Bhaktavigraha* is to be seen.

In keeping with the traditions of the Vaishṇava cult, the religion thus adopted and propagated was free from sectarian animosity or communal rancour. Kanṭhīrava practised toleration of a very high order. We have reference,[149] during his reign, to the Bhāgavatas as a potent factor in popularising the cult through the enactment of *Daśāvathāras* of Vishṇu. We have also reference[150] to the devotees of Śiva and Vishṇu (*Śivabhaktas, Jogis, Jaṅgamas, Vīra Vaishṇavas* and *Rāmānuja Maṭhādhipatis*) living side by side in peace, amity and concord. The temples and *Maṭhas* of the time in Seringapatam are another proof of the degree of tolerance in the religion of the king and the people. Thus it is interesting to note the temples of Narasimha, Ranganātha, Tiruvenkateśvara, Tirumaleśvara, Bēṭerāya, Gangādhara, Vīrēśa, Maradi Tirumalarāya, Narasimhamurti, Bāgila Venkateśvara, and other minor gods, and Doḍḍa Hampayya's *Maṭha*, Mūleya *Maṭha*, the *Maṭha* of Viraktas and Dāsoha *Maṭha*—al

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146 *E.C.*, *ibid.*

147 *Mackenzie Collections*, No. 18-15-20, *loc. cit.*

148 *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 37.

149 *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. XXI, p. 409.

150 *K. A. Vijayam*, Ch. VI, p. 90; Ch. XX. pp. 383-384.

referred to in a contemporary work[151] which bears eloquent testimony to the king's devotion to *Vishṇu.*

The inscriptions of Kanṭhīrava also breathe the democratic fervour of Vaishṇavism and the tolerant attitude of the king in an abundant measure. We may note some instances: A record of 1640[152] refers to grant of villages for offerings to God Hanumanta and for building a new *manṭapa* in the central street of Terakaṇāmbi.[153] Another of 1642 records the setting up of God Basaveśvara and erection of a *manṭapa.* Inscriptions[154] of 1643 and 1647 refer to grants to Brahmans of various sects. A record[155] of 1648 refers to the building of a temple to *Rāmeśvara* and the setting up of images of Gods Kārtavīreśvara, Bhadrakāḷamma and Achaleśvara. Another,[156] of the same year, records the erection of a *maṭha, manṭapa* and Basava pillar. That[157] of 1650 speaks of the construction of Navaranga *Paṭṭasāle* for God Gōpâla of Āne Bāgūr. Further, we have reference to Gods Someśvara, Hanumanta, Bīrēdeva, Nṛsimha and Arkeśvara, in the records[158] from 1650 down to 1657—all pointing to the prevailing religious ideas of the time.

Devarāja Waḍeyar (1659-73) continued the traditions of his predecessors. As pointed out already, he ruled the kingdom in accordance with the precepts of *Smṛti* (*Smṛtyukta dharmadindāḷdu*). He was a firm devotee of God Nārāyaṇa and just for protecting gods and Brahmans.[159] We are told,[160] he used to get up early and worship Vishṇu (reciting his thousand names) and having worshipped the fire and given

151 *K. N. Vijayam*, Ch. VII, pp. 133-134.
152 *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10.
153 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 163.
154 *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 5; III (1) SR. 103; V (1) Ag. 64.
155 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 160.
156 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 165.
157 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 185.
158 *E.C.*, V. (1) CN. 202, 171; III (1) Nj. 106; IV (2) Hg. 49, Kp. 39, etc.
159 *M.A.K.*, 1917, p. 58.
160 *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7; *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 14.

gifts (cows and money) to Brahmans, was in the habit of listening to *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*. A definite proof of his religion is afforded by the use of the boar seal (*Varāha mudra*) for the first time in the public documents,[161] in keeping with the Vijayanagara traditions.

Toleration was, as usual, a prominent feature of his religion. He was solicitous for the Jainas, as is evident from the[162] grant of the village of Madani for daily distribution of food to the Jaina Sanyāsis of the *dāna śāle* of Chārukīrti Paṇḍitāchārya of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, and from the[163] grant of permission to the Jainas to conduct worship and provide for the ceremony of *Ashṭāhnika* in the temple of *Ādīśvara* at Seringapatam. He was equally solicitous for the *Vīraśaivas* as is evident from his[164] grant to Kaggere Tonṭada Siddeśvaraswāmi of Kuṇigal (a deified Lingāyat saint), from the erection of the[165] *Virakta maṭha* and grant of lands to Viraktaswāmi Praṇamappa Channavīradēvarayya Waḍer for the merit of Vīramāheśwaras; and from[166] the grant of lands for the Kambara *maṭha* of Kittūr. His grants[167] further reveal that he paid equal attention to all the three great sects of Brahmans—*Smārtas*, *Śrîvaishṇavas* and *Tatwavādis* (*Mādhwas*), especially in making *agrahāras* and bestowing *vṛttis* or shares on them. Grants[168] for the maintenance and upkeep of Śaiva temples and *maṭhas* were also common.

At the time of his accession to the throne, Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704) appears to have had predilection for the Vīraśaiva or Jaṅgama cult. His first inscription,[169] dated 1673, records a grant of 212 *varahas*, for the pleasure of God Mallikārjuna, to Rudramunidevārādhya, lord of

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161 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23; IV (2) Yd. 43, etc.
162 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 273.
163 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 56.
164 *E.C.*, XII Kg. 46.
165 *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64.
166 *E.C.*, IV (2) Hg. 57.
167 *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37.
168 *E.C.*, IX KN. 94; IV (2) Gu. 64, etc.
169 *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40.

Rēvaṇārādhya *maṭha* at Hullambaḷḷi to provide for the paraphernalia and expenses of the swāmi's annual pilgrimage to Śrīśailam. It is stated as a reason for the grant that the *Prasādam* of God Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam presented by the swāmi to the king enabled him to gain undisputed possession of the kingdom. A significant feature of the grant is that provision was also made for the performance of *Mṛtyunjaya-japam* every day in the Śrīśailam temple by a Brahman, under the king's *asterism* (birth star).

From 1674 onwards, hardly a year after his accession we notice a marked change in his religion. While paying due regard to the traditions of his predecessors, he adopted Śrī Vaishṇavism as his definite creed, styling himself[170] *Śrī Vaishṇava mata pratishṭhāpaka* (establisher of the religion of Śrī Vaishṇavas). The reason for this was, apparently, the[171] influence exercised by the celebrated Śrī Vaishṇava teacher Aḷahisingarārya who is said to have predicted 'Chikkadevarāja will be the establisher and promoter of the race of the Śrī Vaishṇavas'. His adoption of the Śrī Vaishṇava faith found adequate expression in the issue of his new type of gold coin[172] '*Tāndava Krishṇa Mūrti varaha*', and in the compilation of *māhātmyas* and *sthaḷa purāṇams* of sacred places like Seringapatam, Srirangam, Venkaṭagiri, Hastigiri, Kamalāchala, Yādavagiri, and so forth, by the court poets, while the literary works *Chikkadevarājabinnapa* and *Gīta Gōpāla* attributed to Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar himself bear eloquent testimony to this cult.

Acting under its influence and the advice of his minister Tirumalārya, Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar is recorded[173] to have insisted on the *thirteen* arasu families (directly related to the Mysore Royal House) embracing the new faith and adopting its externals (such as, *chakrānkana*, *ūrdhva-puṇḍradhāraṇa*, *dāsa nāma*, *mūlamantrōpāsana*, *Nārāyaṇa*

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[170] *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7.

[171] *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 166.

[172] *Mackenzie Collections*, *op. cit.*, ff. 54-55.

[173] *Palace History*, pp. 132-134.

Pūjā) and observing *Vaishṇava dīkshā*, but the families having, it is said, experienced certain difficulties on account of their diverse family deities, petitioned to the king who, whereupon, allowed them to worship their respective deities according to their family customs. Although the new cult was the predominant faith of Chikkadevarāja there is no evidence to prove its widespread adoption. At best, like Akbar's *Din Ilahi*, if analogy were needed, it would appear to have been confined to a small court circle who, under the king's inspiration and living example, enriched the devotional literature of the religion, as stated above, to an extent unprecedented in the *Annals* of Mysore.

It is indeed noteworthy that the available evidence of inscriptions and other sources does not in the least establish the alleged persecution and ill-treatment of the Jaṅgamas by Chikkadevarāja. On the other hand they go to show his tolerant attitude towards Śaivism, and his solicitude for the welfare of the Jaṅgamas in keeping with the traditions set up by his predecessors.

(*To be continued.*)

JAINISM IN GANGAVADI

By M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.T.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 59*)

Jaina Practices

Asceticism has always been the ideal of Digambara Jainism. The conquest of the weakness of the flesh expresses itself in the renunciation of clothing and a rigid clinging to the austerities of ascetic life. Of all the ascetics, a Jaina sadhu stands alone by the peculiar nature of his garments and austerities, as he was expected to observe the five great vows and redeem himself from the *daṇḍas*, *śalyas*, *garvas* and *pramādas* which taint the soul. The Jaina Āchāryas were skilled in the contemplations of the Jaina faith and the twelve *bhāvanas*.[29] The Jaina Āchārya was expected, with the perpetual idea of the transitoriness of the world and the helplessness of man before inexorable Death, to subdue greed and egoism and purify his intellect. He was to believe in the inevitability of the fruition of karmas (*āsrava*) and in the subjection of the soul to a never-ending cycle of births and rebirths (*samsāra*). A clear conception of the dependence of one's own future on oneself (*ekatva*) was another attitude which the Āchārya had to cultivate, together with the separation of all else and the clear idea of the solitude of the soul born alone and passing alone (*anyatva*). Since ignorance of truth, passions, evil propensities and senses lead the mind towards external objects of the world (*āsrava*), sedulous attempts were to be made to redeem the soul from *karmic* matter through right knowledge and self-restraint (*samvara*) and shedding of karma already there, by subduing anger by forbearance, pride by humility, duplicity by sincerity, greed by contentment, sense objects by control of the senses.

Freeing of the eternal spirit from the bonds of eternal matter by asceticism and austere religious practices was thus

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[29] *E.C.*, II, No. 141, 258,

the fundamental fact in the life of the Jaina Āchāryas of the Ganga period. He who could not resist his passions and could not endure austerities could commit suicide, for the Jain ascetic was assured of *nirvāṇa* after twelve years of asceticism consisting of very rigid fasts. Of the twelve *pratimas* or fasts that he had to observe, the first seven extended progressively from one to seven months, and were not undertaken during the rainy seasons. Hence they covered a period of nearly nine years. The next three fasts extended to seven days and nights each, while the eleventh and the twelfth were of only one day and one night's duration. The Jaina teachers never washed themselves and some of them were reputed as *maladhārins*[30] or the bearers of dirt, just to illustrate their contempt of worldly habits.

The Śrāvakas or the *bhavyajanas* had also as rigid a duty to perform as their *gurus*, for in Jain society the difference between the training of a layman and that of an ascetic was not one of kind but only one of degree. As a part of his religion he was required to abstain from all thoughts and acts of injury to all living beings, to avoid falsehood and theft in all forms and to wean himself of all sexual appetites and sordid feelings born of an innate and insensate desire for worldly possessions. So even with regard to the duties of the householder, the permanent note which dominated the whole body of prescribed codes of duties was non-injury to all sentient beings (*ahiṁsa*) and an uncompromising series of self-denials.

Several inscriptions mention *pratimas* and *lekhanas* undertaken by Jain *gurus*. Most of them which go back to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. record the death of men and women by religious suicide or starvation to death by the performance of the vow of *sallekhana* which is thus described in the *Ratna-karaṇḍaka* of Sāmantabhadra: "When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for Dharma is called *sallekhana*. One should by degrees give up solid food and take to liquid food; then giving up liquid food, should content himself gradually

30 Rice's introduction to *E.C.*, II, p. xxxvii.

with warm water; then abandoning even warm water should fast entirely and thus with mind intent on the five salutations should by every effort quit the body. Firm faith in Jainism, observance of the *aṇu, guṇa, śikṣā vratas* and *sallekhana* according to rules at the time of death—these complete the duties of the householder." Though the taking of life is the greatest sin conceivable to a Jain, an exception was made in favour of the vow of voluntary starvation which was looked upon as the highest proof of that victory over bodily passions which made a perfect Jaina. The inscriptions at Śravaṇa-beḷgoḷa record the steadfastness of those who have fulfilled the vow of *samādhi,*[31] *sanyasana* or *sallekhana* by keeping their minds free, on the one hand from relentings and on the other from impatience for death, and letting their thoughts dwell on those who had conquered the flesh before and had attained the state of the gods, and simply awaiting release by death. A more expeditious and pleasant method of putting an end to one's life was that of *Jalasamādhi*[32] performed by the Chālukya Someśwara and others.

Co-existence of other Religions.

In this period Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism fought for supremacy but their animosities, rivalries and bickerings did not lead to any violent or active persecution. The Hindu mind has always been prone, to quote *Nīti-vākyāmṛta* of Somadeva, to recognize *Dharma* as the common heritage of all mankind, as particular usages are only special to certain classes or castes, enjoined in his own scriptures bearing on *varṇāśrama-dharma*. This toleration was the accepted principle of the State in religious affairs and was consistent with existing practice and conducive to religious neutrality as a state policy. The kings patronized different sects, heretical and religious, and even took a leading part in religious discussions and disputes, for they liked to hear learned discourses and discussions between savants expounding

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[31] *E.C.*, II, Nos. 1, 2, 22, 59, 93, 106, 258.

[32] Bhanḍarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 84.

apparently diverging faiths. The scholastic character of theological discussions, of recognizing the opponent's defeat in argument as the criterion of truth, and supremacy of reason in preference to revelation marked the special feature of the religious history of the Middle Ages.[33]

At the time of Harivarma, the successor of Mādhava II, a Buddhist disputant, Vādi-mada-gajendra, in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at Talavanapura, a *pa'tra* (scroll) asserting his claim to be the foremost scholar in logic, grammar and other branches of learning. Then a Brahmin named Mādhava-bhaṭṭa put his pretensions to the proof before the king and when the Buddhist opponent denied the existence of the soul he established its existence and vanquished him. The king being pleased gave the victorious Brahmin the title *Vādībha-simha* and with it the Orekodu village.[34] Mādhava III made grants to Jain temples and Brahmins and Buddhist *vihāras*.[35] Likewise Būtuga or Nanniya Gaṅga (925-960 A.D.) worsted a Buddhist controversialist in what appears to have been an open debate. Buddhism was prevalent in the Dekkan and the south and there were Buddhistic centres of considerable importance on the Dekkan plateau both on the east and the west. The Buddhistic work *Maṇi-mekhalai* refers to Brahmin settlements with their sanctified places for the celebration of sacrifices, large hermitages for the votaries of the Jaina religion, places for the residence and propagation of the Śaiva faith and well-provided garden places for the Buddhists, all as having existed side by side not far from each other. The earlier culture of the Dekkan between 225 B.C. and 225 A.D. perhaps took a definite shape primarily under Buddhistic stimulus and emerged into the new Brahmanical culture of the post-Śātavāhana period. The rule of the Bṛhatpalāyana and Śālaṅkāyana dynasties (275 A.D.—450 A.D.)[36] was marked by the

[33] C. V. Vaidya: *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 109.

[34] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 212.

[35] *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1910, p. 27, Melkote grant.

[36] Pargiter, *Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 237.

revival of Brahminism and the resuscitation of Sanskrit language and literature. The Vākāṭakas and Viṣṇu-Kuṇḍins also gave an impetus to this rising tide of Brahminism, so much so that the Āndhradeśa, Banvāsi and Gaṅgavāḍi were gradually lost to Buddhism and came within the sphere of the Gupta religious and cultural sway.[37]

Buddhism, which continued to be one of the leading religions in the Saṅgam period,[38] declined in the age of Nāyanmars and Āḻwārs. Sambandar (seventh century A.D.) moved from place to place, from Bodhimangai in Coḻamaṇḍalam to Negapatam and other colonies, held disputations with the Buddhists, defeated and converted them to the Śaiva creed. Māṇikkavācakar relinquished the office of a minister to pursue the quest of truth, met the Buddhist disputants in a great conference at Chidambaram and there miraculously defeated and secured their conversion to Śaivism. Tirumalisai, Toṇḍaradipoḍiyāḻwār, Tirumaṅgai Āḻwār, Nammāḻwār also among others, realizing the futility of endless religious discussions as well as the need for devotion to one Supreme Being, engaged themselves in regular missionary work, and carried on a relentless crusade against all heretical sects, in order to curb their disintegrating influence in the Hindu fold.[39]

Buddhism did not take root in Gaṅgavāḍi, eclipsed by Jainism which was more tolerant of ritualism. Besides it lacked the political influence that the other religions possessed in royal households. Buddhism also became intensely idolatrous like Hinduism and Jainism, the veneration for a dead Teacher passing into the worship of a living saviour.[40] Religions in

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37 K. R. Subramanian, *Buddhistic Remains in Āndhra*, p. 94.

38 The accounts of Fahien and Hiuen-Tsang relating to (1) the religious toleration of the Hindu emperors, (2) the splendid rock cut monasteries situate 200 *yojanas* to the south of Benares in the Dekkan, (3) the early members of the Pallava dynasty having Aśokavarman as their mythical ancestor and professing Buddhism, and (4) Pāṇḍya and Coḷa people having frequent communication and marriage connections with the people of Ceylon, evidence the great influence and power of Buddhism. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, p. 2; *I.A.*, XL, p. 213.)

39 *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 692.

40 V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 134.

India, both Āryan and non-Āryan, seem to have conspired in evolving idolatry. Worship of naked standing idols of Tīrthaṅkaras and superstitious beliefs about the potency of images expressed in the adoration of idols and erection of temples and statues of Tīrthaṅkaras and Bodhisattvas, became the order of the day. To Buddha's relics and images were attributed superhuman powers, as to Jain and Hindu gods; and ascetics also were believed to attain miraculous powers by the practice of austerities. The worship of different deities developed new rules and rituals and new philosophies and these were embodied in the *āgamas* which gradually assumed precedence even over Vedic rules and rituals.

While Buddhism gradually became extinct in Gaṅgavāḍi by the preponderance of Jainism, Brahminism with its remarkable assimilative power, strengthened itself by absorbing the ethical aspect of those two religions. Besides it enjoyed preferential treatment under the Gaṅga kings though they were of Jaina persuasion. The introduction of Brahmins into Sthānagundūr by the Kadamba king Triṇetra from Ahicchatra-agrahāra, the admission of Brahmins into the Pallava country by Mukkaṇṭi and the devotion of Viṣṇugopa during the same period to the worship of Brahmins and the tradition of his having lost the Jain tokens which were heirlooms of his house, are evidences indicating the general public recognition of Brahminism in the south. Mādhava and Harivarma are represented as devoted to the worship of the *gurus*, cows and Brahmins. Tadaṅgala Mādhava is described as the reviver of donations for long ceased festivals of the gods and Brahmin endowments. Avinīta, Durvinīta, Śrīpuruṣa and Mārasiṃha are mentioned in copper-plate grants as maintaining, like Manu, the castes and religious orders of the south and making large grants of villages to the Brahmins. With such patronage from the royal families and the people, we notice that Brahminism continued to preserve its old Vedic rites and sacrifices[41] along with the worship of other native gods, who were exalted to the Vedic pantheon.

[41] *E.C.*, VII, SK, p. 178; *ibid.*, V, Belur, p. 121; *ibid.*, IX, Kolar, p. 63, GD, p. 48; *ibid.*, V, AK, p. 17.

The practices of some devotees of Śiva were almost staggering and their beliefs strange.[42] There were the Pāśupatas, sometimes called Māheśvaras, who extolled Śiva as the Almighty, wore the marks of sacred ashes on their persons and worshipped the image or phallic emblem of the deity.[43] Some cut off their hair, others made it into a top knot; some went about naked and smeared themselves with ashes, but all persevered in austerities to seek release from mortal existence.[44] Some believed in a set of demons who were the followers or companions of Śiva and who were to be propitiated by human sacrifices or by oblations of the flesh of the dead. The Kāpālikas worshipped Bhairava, wore garlands of skulls, offered sacrifices of animals and human beings, feasted on flesh and wine and worshipped women and, at the same time, recognized equality of all classes of people including the *pañcamas* in the act of divine worship. Many stories are current which testify to the strange superstitions of the Śaiva cult and their prevalence all over Gaṅgavāḍi. The *tāntric* Śiva worship and Caṇḍikā worship seem to have originated in the south among the Āndhras and the Dravidians who were always spoken of as the chief priests in these rites.[45] Śaivism in Gaṅgavāḍi, however, was qualified Monism,[46] which abhorred the bloody sacrifices and revolting practices of the Kāpālikas. It regarded Vedas and Āgamas as its scriptures, the former being intended for the twice-born and the latter for all. Lakulīśa Pāśupatas or Kālāmukhas exercised considerable influence in Gaṅgavāḍi in the ninth, tenth and the following centuries. Inscriptions also refer to other orthodox and heretical sects which adhered to their doctrines and lived in amity with the followers of other religions. Kūrcakas, a community of naked monks,[47] Nirgatas[48] and Goravas, a set of Śaiva ascetics like the

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42 C. V. Vaidya, *Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 104.
43 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165.
44 *Yuan Chwang*, Tr. Watters, Vol. I, pp. 296 and 331; Vol. II, p. 47.
45 C. V. Vaidya, *Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 104.
46 *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, Tr. Cowell and Gough, p. 105.
47 *I.A.*, Vol. VI, p. 25.
48 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 38; *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 290.

Pāśupatas; Atharva[49] and Kashmir Brahmins professing Śaivism; Yapaniyas,[50] a Jain unorthodox sect who had the appearance of the Digambaras but followed the ceremonial ordinances of Śvetāmbaras; and Lokāyatas,[51] an atheistical sect following the doctrines of Cārvāka—these were some of the minor religious sects which, in spite of their differences in dogma and ritual, enjoyed the patronage of kings and people.

The doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* was another fundamental fact in the religious history of Gaṅgavāḍi. Buddhism and Jainism placed it in the foremost ranks of their tenets. The opponents of *Ahiṁsā* were chiefly the Mīmāmsakas or the upholders of the old Vedic sacrifice, besides Lokāyatikas and Pāśupatas. Jainism which regarded *Ahiṁsā* as its cardinal principle spread rapidly among the trading classes and the agricultural population and Jain paṇḍits employed the Sanskrit language in disputations and often defeated the followers of Pūrvamīmāmsā in them. This proficiency of the Jains in Sanskrit culminated in the twelfth century when Hemachandra, the *Rājaguru* of Kumārapāla, stood as the greatest and noblest exponent of Jainism. With the flourishing of Jainism under royal patronage in Gaṅgavāḍi, and its uncompromising regard for the sanctity of animal life, animal sacrifice fell into abeyance—and along with it, naturally, animal food and drink. When Hiuen Tsang visited India, the prohibition of animal slaughter had become so strong that the flesh of oxen, horses and elephants were entirely forbidden and those who ate such food became *parayas*.[52]

The doctrine of metempsychosis remained unshaken throughout all the changes in philosophic and religious thought. It was held that the individual soul is fast bound by the power of its own *karma* to continuous births and rebirths and their aim was to free the soul from its mundane fetters by means of the three jewels, Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Action.

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49 *E.I.*, IV, p. 338.
50 *E.C.*, XII, Gb. 61.
51 *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 23.
52 Watters, *Records*, Vol. I, p. 178.

This belief was utilized to inculcate high principles of morality. It is not improbable that the punishment for sin and the reward for merits overtaking the soul in the next life made the society highly moral earning the testimony of foreigners as to its honesty, justice and truthfulness.

Decline of Jainism

The decline of Jainism in South India was early and sudden. The opposition came from the revival of Śaivism and its powerful preachers by about the eighth and the ninth centuries. It lingered on till the end of the twelfth century in the Karṇāṭaka where it was professed and encouraged by the people. But still its influence considerably waned after the tenth century owing to inherent and adventitious causes. Corruption gradually crept in by their contact with people of various customs, methods and practices. Its original .purity was tainted by the introduction of undesirable changes, and the religion which started with the condemnation of the rituals ended by becoming as ritualistic as Brahminism. Every relaxation of the old thorough-going position which, welcomed and supported by the converts from other faiths, only aggravated weakness in the movement for reform. Ideas ceased to grow, scholastic learning alone received rewards and recognition and there was no longer any spirit of change and progress anywhere to counteract the growing decay. Even the old ideal of life, the salvation of the *Arhat* to be won in this world by self-culture and self-mastery, was clouded by punctilious observances of all the ceremonial ordinances of the faith and pursuit of the straightest path of orthodoxy. The code of discipline, abstinence and morals was far too stringent and austere for the large number of monks and *bhavya-janas.*

The adoption of Sanskrit to express philosophical and religious ideas enshrined in their scriptures showed the extent to which Brahmin thought was penetrating into the growth of Buddhism and Jainism. Pāḷi bore an increasing admixture of Sanskrit after the second century A.D. The change in the form of expression connoted a subtle change in thought.

When the Mahâyânists and Jains re-stated their doctrines in terms of Brahmin philosophy, the change was complete and gave away the logical position of their founders preparing for a religious reaction in favour of orthodox Brahminism and Śaivism which was accelerated by the trend of political events also.[53]

The cult of *bhakti* embodied in the revival of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism of the seventh and eighth centuries was a reaction against Vedic exclusiveness, Jaina asceticism and Buddhistic moralism, and it provided the saving priest or preceptor as an essential factor to attain salvation. To secure the required ebullition of emotion, visits to places of holy reputation, acts of memorial service in temples and the pouring out of one's heart in verse and dancing were introduced. These changes in Hinduism considerably increased its influence and secured the adhesion, loyalty and devotion of all those who were in the Jaina fold and were eager to expose to the world the inconsistency between the life led by their teachers and the beliefs to which people now adhered. If Sambandar brought about the downfall of Jainism in the Pāṇḍya Kingdom, Appār drove the Jains from the Pallava country.[54] The rise of the Śaiva saints and the Vaiṣṇava Āḷwārs and their intensive and active propaganda against the Jains, the triumphant disputations and successful peregrinations throughout the Dekkan and the north of the great Advaita-philosopher Śankara and Māṇikkavācakar and the establishment of mutts and organizations in important centres of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇavite persuasions, all effectively removed Jainism from South India by about the latter half of the ninth century.

The Coḷas who came to power at the end of the tenth century were great devotees of Śiva and used their political power for the suppression of Jainism. The statues of sixty-three *nāyanmars* in the Coḷa temple, and the paintings of the bloody episodes in the *manṭapam* of the Mīnākṣī temple are a

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53 Havell, *Āryan India*, p. 81.

54 Ramaswamiengar and B. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism* p. 66.

testimony of Rāja-rāja Coḷa's predilection for Śaivism and bitter hostility to Jainism. If Jainism suffered great vicissitudes in its fortunes in the south owing to the active hostility of Śaivism, it recovered remarkably during the same period in Karṇāṭaka because of the influx of Jain population which migrated to Mysore unable to withstand Śaivite inroads into their religion in the south. Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa, Maleyur and Humcha *mathas*, the last one founded by Jinadatta Rāya, all became their stronghold and the following three centuries witnessed the acceptance of Jainism by the Cāḷukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas like the Gaṅgas and the extension of generous patronage in the form of grants to Jain temples and *sādhus*. But the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, bulwarks of the *Jina-dharma* in the first quarter of the eleventh century and the ascendency of the Western Cāḷukyas under Taila and others who were devout Śaivites led to the active persecution of Jainism after this period. If the traditions are to be believed, Jain statues and idols in the *bastis* were thrown away and the Purāṇic gods were substituted.[55] The Kālacūri rule which followed the rule of the Cāḷukyas in the last quarter of the twelfth century in spite of its being a religious movement in favour of Jainism could not stem the returning tide of Śaivism, the Lingāyat schism under Basava.

In Gaṅgavāḍi, Jainism dominated the life and thought of the people as long as the Gaṅgas ruled. The fall of the Gaṅga kingdom of Talkāḍ in 1004 A.D. and the wide conquests and temporary domination of the Coḷa kings bitterly hostile to the Jaina faith and reputed to have destroyed Jaina temples and monasteries, and the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were a cataclysm to Jainism. The disappearance of the two great dynasties did not, for the time being, affect the integrity of the Jain religion, for, the leaders of the community in the period of the interregnum before the foundation of Hoysala power were themselves Jains and actively encouraged the construction of Jain temples and *bastis*. The revival of the Kālāmukha Śaivas in the eleventh century, the probable

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55 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

change of faith of Vikramāditya VI, the greatest ruler of the century, the revival of Vaiṣṇavism and the conversion of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana to Vaiṣṇavism completely alienated the kings from the austere teachings of the Jains. Losing support of the kingly family in Gaṅgavāḍi, persecuted by the Coḷas in the Tamil land, and displaced by the Lingāyats in the Southern Mahratta country, Jainism naturally succumbed in South India finally. Still it lingered on for two more centuries, but the rise of the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar, standing as the champion of Hindu civilization and culture and a bulwark against Muslim aggressions, completely relegated to the background Jainism which had for a long time held a pre-eminent position in Mysore. Under-nourished and under-fed, for want of popular and royal support, Jainism lost much of its importance and sought refuge in a few of its original and well-known centres where once Jain *sanghas* had flourished and constituted the nucleus of a great and active propaganda.

N.B.—*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 55, ll. 9-10, for *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* read *Śabdānuśāsana*; p. 57, l. 9 from the bottom, for Nāyanars read Nāyanmars.

TWO DRAVIDIC PROBLEMS

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 33*)

II. The Kannada Variants *kem-*, *kis-*, *kecc-* (red), etc.

THE existence in Kannaḍa of the series of variants

kem-, *kis-*, *kecc-* (red),
bem-, *bis-*, *becc-* (hot),
pan-, *pas-*, *pacc-* (green),

of which each class occurs in conditions defined elaborately by all the old Kannaḍa grammars (*Bhâṣâbhûṣaṇa*, *Śabdasmṛti*, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and *Śabdânuśâsana*), raises an interesting problem which is significant not only from the exclusive view-point of this dialect but also from the general standpoint of Dravidian in as much as the same variations of these bases exist in other Dravidian languages.

The oldest Kannaḍa grammar, *Bhâṣâbhûṣaṇa*, describes in Sûtras 152, 153 and 154 that *-cc-* of *kecc-ane* (red), *becc-ane* (hot) and *pacc-ane* (green) is replaced by *-m-* before consonants in *samâsas*, that in some cases *-s-* may occur in the stead of *-m-*, and that in some contexts *-e-* of the first two forms may appear as *-i-* (as in *kisu sañje*), and as *ê* (as in *kês-uri*).

Sûtra 52 of *Śabdasmṛti* describes the same changes thus:

paccaneyum keccaneyum |
beccaneyum-enippa śabdadantakkakkum ||
beccantire matvam kela- |
riccayipar svantamumanikâraitvamum ||

Sûtra 182 of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* runs thus:

janiyisugum paccane ke- |
ccane beccanegaḷa cakâradoḷ matvam, ke- ||
ccane-y-âdige catvam ; mê- |
ṇanitara matvam sukâram ; etvakkitvam ||

This sûtra describes that

(i) *-m-* appears for *-cc-* in *pacc-ane*, etc.;

(ii) the initial *k*- of *kecc*- may change to *c*- (after *kecc*- changes to *kem*-) ;

(iii) occasionally -*su*- may stand for -*m*- in such words ; and

(iv) -*i*- instead of -*e*- may appear [in *kes*- and *bes*- derived according to (iii) above].

The rules become fully clear from the illustrations given by the earliest commentator :

(i) For a nasal (described as -*m*- in the sûtra, represented in writing by a *bindu*) before consonants in *samâsas* : *pan-daḷir* (green shoot), *beṅ-gadir* (hot ray), *keṅgoḍe* (red parasol).

(ii) For the change of *kem*- to *cem*- :—

Ceṅ-deṅgu (red coconut-tree), *cem-bon* (red gold), *ceṅ-gôl* (red rod).

(iii) For -*su*- instead of -*m*- :—*kes-uri*, *kes-aḍakke*, *kisu-gal* (red stone), *bisu-gadir* (hot ray), *bisu-nîr* (hot water).

(iv) For -*i*- instead of -*e*- :—*bisu-nîr* (hot water), *kisu-gal* (red stone) ; [this change, of course, does not affect the word for ' green ' since it does not have a radical -*e*-].

The illustrations make clear that

(i) the nasal appears (in the stead of -*cc*-) before consonants in *samâsas* and not before vowels in which case *kecc*-, *pacc*-, *becc*- are retained, generally speaking ; (for exceptions, see below) ;

(ii) the change of the initial *k*- >*c*- of the word for ' red ' is limited to the variant with the nasal ;

(iii) -*su*- may occur before words with initial consonants and before a series of old words like *uri* with initial vowels.

Sûtras 341, 342 and 343 of *Śabdânuśâsana* relating to this topic, taken along with their prayogas and vyâkhyas, also describe these changes in detail.

Sûtra 341 indicates that -*m*- appears before consonants in *samâsas*, instead of -*cc*-, after -*ane* is dropped in *keccane*, *paccane* and *beccane*.

Sûtra 342 mentions and illustrates the change of *kem*- to *cem*-.

Sûtra 343 states that *-isu-* optionally occurs before consonants and words like *uri*, instead of *-em-* in *kem-* and *bem-* ; the *prayoga* gives instances like

bisu-nîr beside *ben-nîr* (hot water),

kisu-sañji beside *keñ-jañji* (golden-coloured evening),

on the one hand, and illustrations like

kês-uri beside *ken(n)-uri* and *kecc-uri*,

bés-uri beside *ben(n)-uri* and *becc-uri*.

Sûtra 343 of *Śabdânuśâsana* does not mention the change described here, as affecting the word for 'green', though (as we have seen above) the sûtras of *Bhâṣâbhûṣana*, *Śabdasmṛti* and *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* cannot be said to have excluded the application of the rule of *-su-* for the word for 'green'.

The probable reason why Sûtra 343 and its *prayoga* leave out the word for 'green' is that the Sûtra has embodied two different changes, one of which cannot affect the word for 'green'. What the sûtra describes is that *-em-* may optionally appear as *-isu-*, and this would relate not only to the variation of *-m-* and *-s*, but also to the variation of the radical vowel *-e* and *-i-* ; and this latter change cannot possibly affect the word for 'green' as its radical vowel is *-a-* (*pacc-*, *pan-*, *pas-*).

The *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 makes clear what exactly words like *uri* (*uryâdi*) are ; it also distinguishes how the forms with *-s-* can appear only before initial vowels of the *uryâdi* class, and points out that if the second constituent of the *samâsa* is a word (with an initial vowel) outside the *uryâdi* class, then forms with *-s* are not tolerated ; on the other hand, the appropriate forms before words with initial vowels other than the *uryâdi* group, would be *kecc-*, *becc-* and *pacc-*, as mentioned in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343.

There is yet another point deserving of notice. Illustrations like *bennuri* and *beccuri*, beside *bêsuri* in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343, show that, so far as the *uryâdi* group is concerned, all the three variant types (*becc-*, *ben-* and *bes-*) may be used, while before words other than the *uryâdi* group, the type with *-cc-* alone could be used since the type with the nasal is

excluded by the *prayoga* to Sûtra 341 [*vyañjana iti kim? kecc-ôle*] and the type with *-s-* is excluded by the explanation in the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 : *uryâdiṣviti kim ? kecc-âne.*

Thus we arrive at the following scheme on the basis of all the relevant Sûtras in the grammars :—

Type with nasal	Type with *-cc-*	Type with *-s-*
(i) Before consonants. (ii) Before *uryâdi.*	Before all words with initial vowels, including the *uryâdi* group.	(i) *-s-u* before consonants. (ii) Before *uryâdi.*

The following points may also be recorded here preliminarily, the discussion relating to them being reserved for a subsequent part of this essay :—

(*a*) *-ane* appearing in *keccane*, etc., is a qualificatory ending with an adverbial force, appearing not only in these words but in many other Kannaḍa words also.

(*b*) What is described as *-m-* in the Sûtras is only a *nasal* sound, transcribed with the *bindu* but really evaluated as a *varga* nasal, the character of which would depend upon the consonant following, while before *uryâdi* it is lengthened *n*.

(*c*) The alternation of the radical vowels in certain types of the words for 'red' and 'hot' (particularly in Kannaḍa) is a peculiar feature that affects a large number of words of all the south Dravidian speeches.

(*d*) The *uryâdi* group is constituted (according to the *prayoga* to Sûtra 343 of *Śabdânuśâsana*) of the following ancient nouns :

uri (burning, flame)
akki (rice)
ôḍu (shell)
eṇṇe (oil)
aḍake (nut)
ugur (nail)
aṇil (squirrel)

Table of parallel Instances from other Dravidian Speeches.

	KANNAḌA	TAMIL	TELUGU	TUḶU	KURU*KH*	BRÂHÛI
			'RED'			
Type I with nasal	*keñ-jañji*, *ceñ-jañji* (golden evening) *ken-daḷir* (red shoot) *kem-bon* (red gold)	*śeṅ-gadir* (red ray) *śem-bon* (red gold) *śeṅ-gaḷam* ('red field' =battlefield) *sen-dâmarai* (red lotus)	*keṅ-gêlu* ('red hand,' palm of hand) *keñ-jaḍalu* (red hair) *ken-dâmara* (red lotus) *seṅ-gâvi* (red colour) *śeṅ-galuva* (red water-lily)	*keṅ-gaṇṇu* ('red eye,' sore eye)	*x̃ẽs* [Note the nasalized vowel !]	......
Type II with *-y-*	.....	*śêy* (redness) *śêyân* ('red one' = Siva)	......	....	....	....
Type III with *-s-*	*kisu-sañji* (golden evening) *kisu-gal* (red stone) *kês-uri* (red flame)	......	......	......	*xẽs*	*xis-*
Type IV with *-cc-*	*kecc-ôle* (red palm-leaf)	*kiccu* (fire)	*kiccu*, *ciccu* (fire)	*kiccu*	*cicc-* (fire)	......
			'GREEN'			
Type I	*pan-daḷir* (fresh young leaves) *pan-dale* ('young head' 'newly decapitated head')	*paṅ-gâi* (green or unripe fruit—*cf.* Mal. *paiṅṅa* (unripe arecanut) *paim bon* (excellent gold)	......	......	......	......

Type II with -*y*-	*payir*	*payır* (greenness) *pai-ṅ-gây* (green fruit)	*payiru* (growing corn) *payaru-ceyy* (to cultivate)	*pairu* (growing corn)	......	*bai* or *bay* (green grass fit for grazing)
Type III	*pasu-gûsu* (young child) *pasu-ṅ-gari* (green leaf of palm) *pası* (greenness) *pasur* (greenness)	*pas-a-* (to become green) *pasappu* (greenness)	*pasaru* (green) *pasımi* (greenness or yellowness)	*paj-iræ* (green leaf) *pajıru* (green grass)	......	*cf.* *posun* (yellow)—for the meaning, *cf.* Tel. *pasımi* which means 'yellowness,' beside 'greenness'
Type IV	*pacca-guppasa* (green bodice) *pacce-dôraṇa* (festoon of green leaves)	*paccai* (greenness)	*pacca* (green) *kappu pacca* (dark green) *tella pacca* (light green)	*pacca*	......	......
			'HOT'			
Type I	*ben-nîr* (hot water)	*veṅ-gaṇ* ('hot eye', jealousy) *ve͂ṅ-jinam* (hot anger)	*vẽgu* (to be hot)—[Note the half nasal]	*ben-nîr* (hot water)	......	......
Type II	*bêy-* (to be boiled)	*vêy-*(to be hot) *viyar-vai* (perspiration) *veyyıl* (sunshine)	*vêy-*	*bêy* (to be boiled)	*bi"i-* (to be cooked)	......
Type III	*bisu-nîr* (hot water) *bısıl* (sunshine) *bês-uri* (hot flame)	Mal. *veśarpu* (perspiration)	......	*besı-* (to get hot) *bısı* (heat, warmth of the sun)	......	*bis-* (to be cooked)
Type IV	*beccane* (hotly)	*vecc-ena* (hotly) *veccu-veccena* (hot as a swaying flame)	*vecca* (heat) *veccana* (heat)	*becca* (hot, heat) *beccana* (warmth)	......	......

The question of the inter-relationships of the variant endings of these forms does not admit of a ready and easy solution in as much as the conditions that governed their origin presumably operated at a very early common stage in the history of these speeches in all of which representatives of each class and group occur. Nevertheless, the problem cannot be burked by the Dravidist in view of its importance in the reconstruction of old bases of this kind. The perspectives suggested below are based on a consideration of collateral facts and probabilities.

Type I with the Nasal

I have elsewhere[1] dealt with the different contexts in Dravidian, in which nasals are found prominently before plosives. As we are here concerned with one special type of such nasals with which we may compare the nasals of Type I of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot', I would content myself with discussing this type alone here.

A most conspicuous group of *samâsas* in the cultivated languages of the South shows *varga* nasals cropping up before initial plosives (and *m* and *n*) of the second constituents of the *samâsas*.

Tamil	Kannaḍa	Telugu
(1) *iḷa-* (young, tender) *iḷaṅ-gadir* (tender ray)	...	*lê* [*n*]- (young, tender) [aphæresized, accent-modified form of *eḷa-*<*iḷe*]

[1] I would briefly indicate the main headings here :—

(i) Verb-extension particles and the past ending *nd* of what I have described as non-Kârita (including Intransitive) verbs.

(ii) The nasal appearing in different particles described as *śâriyai* in various Sûtras of the section on Uyirmayaṅgiyal of *Tolkâppiyam*, *Eḻuttadigâram*. [See Sûtras of Puḷimayaṅgiyal].

(iii) In Kannaḍa the nasal mentioned in Sûtras 379, 380, 381 and 384 of *Śs.*, the nasal mentioned in Sûtras 180 and 223 of *Śmd.*

(iv) In Telugu, the nasal in types like (i) *sogasu-n-danamu*, (ii) *ciguru-ṅ-gaidavu*, (iii) *tella-n-danamu*.

	Tamil	Kannada	Telugu
	iḷaṅ-gât't'ru (mild wind)		*lê-[n]- gommu* (tender shoot)
(2)	*pal̤a-*(old) *pal̤a-m-borul* ('old substance', God) *pal̤a-ṅ-gaṛi* (old curry)	...	*prâ[n]-* (old) *prâ[n]-jaduvu* (old education)
(3)	*uḍa-*(joining) *uḍa-m-baḍi* (agreement) *uḍa-ñ-jâvu* ('death with husband', *sati*)	*oḍa-n-*(together) *oḍambaḍi* (agreement)	*oḍa-n* *oḍãbaḍi*
(4)	*pi[n]-* (behind, etc.) *pi-ṅ-gâl* (hind leg) *pi-m-bakkam* (back part)	*pi-[n]*:(behind) *pi-ṅ-gâl* (hind leg) *pi-m-bagal* (latter part of day) *pi-m-bol̤tu* (setting sun)	...
(5)	*mu[n]-* (front)	*mu[n]*	*mu-[n]*
(6)	...	*be-[n]-* (back) *be-n-dogal* (back skin)	*ve-[n]-* *ve-m-baḍi* (back part)

(ii) A similar *varga* nasal occurs in Tamil-Malayâḷam *samâsas* formed with a number of other *guṇavacana* bases; this nasal is not found in similar circumstances in speeches other than Tamil and Malayâḷam; but the circumstances in which the nasal crops up in Tamil-Malayâḷam, appear to be the same as in the common instances shown above.

kuṛu[1]-(short)→ *kuṛu-ṅ-gâḍu* (underwood); *kuṛu-ṅ-gâlu* (short leg); *kuṛu-m-baḍi* (small stile), etc.

neḍu-(long, tall)→ *neḍu-ṅ-gâlam* (long period); *neḍu-m-bura* (tall shed).

kaḍu-(hard, severe)→ *kaḍu-m-bagal* (broad daylight); *kaḍu-ṅ-gaṇ* (cruelty < 'severe eye'); *kaḍu-m-baśi* ('excessive hunger), etc.

koḍu- crooked→ *koḍuṅ-gaṇ* (evil eye); *koḍuṅ-gây* ('crooked fruit' > cucumber); *koḍuṅ-gât't'ru* (violent wind).

karu (dark)→ *karu-ṅ-gaṇṇi* (black-eyed woman); *karu-m-bon* (iron), etc.

It may be noted that all these epithets have a short radical vowel and that all of them are *guṇavacana* words denotative of quality.

Now, Type I appears to be like (i) and (ii) above. They are *guṇavacana* words, they have short radical vowels, and they incorporate a nasal in *samâsas* before the initial plosives of the second constituents of *samâsas*.

We have also to note that this class of *samâsas* with *guṇavacana* constituents is not limited to Tamil; for, though the *samâsas* in (ii) above have no counterparts with nasals in Telugu and Kannaḍa, all *samâsas* of (i) above are represented in these dialects by similar compound words with nasals.

We have therefore to consider that the nasal of Type I of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot' is of the same character and origin as that of the *guṇavacana samâsas* mentioned above.

What probable origin could be ascribed to the nasal? The problem does not admit of an easy explanation. Caldwell says (p. 215 of his *Comparative Grammar*) that "*paśum-*, *paim-* (of Tamil) is evidently derived from *paś-*, the crude root with the addition of *um*, the sign of the aoristic

[1] The principle holds good for all these bases in Malayâḷam also: *cf.* the miscellaneous Sûtra of the old Malayâḷam grammar, *Lîlâtilakam*, Third Śilpa: *śeṣam prayogât ñeyam*. Illustrations like *neḍu-ṅ kamuku* (tall arecanut tree), *koḍu-m-pâmbu* (cruel snake), *peru-n-teruvu* (big street) are given under this Sûtra.

future by means of which it becomes an aoristic relative participle" ; he similarly explains words like *perum-*, etc.

Whether Caldwell's outlook is the right one, it is difficult to say. Of one thing we can be more or less sure: the nasal in these *samâsas* is not an organic part of the base of the *guṇavacana* words in view of the fact that the nasal crops up only before initial plosives (or affricates) of the second constituents in *samâsas*.

Perhaps, the question of the origin of the nasal here is bound up with some at least of the other classes of nasals before plosives. The question appears to be a prehistoric one.

Types II and III

We have already seen that *-y-* appears after the bases of words denoting 'red', 'green' and 'hot' in the following forms:—

1. Tamil *śêy* 'red'.
2. Tamil *pay* 'green', Kannaḍa *payir* 'green corn', Telugu *payir*, Tuḷu *payiru*.
3. Tamil *vêy-* 'to be hot', Kannaḍa *bêy-*, Telugu *vêy-*, Tuḷu *bey-*.

Again, forms with *-s-* for these words occur in the following speeches :—

1. 'red'→ Kannaḍa, Brâhûi, Kuru*kh*.
2. 'green'→ Kannaḍa, Tamil, Telugu, Tuḷu.
3. 'hot'→ Kannaḍa, Malayâḷam, Tuḷu, Brâhûi, Kuru*kh*.

-y- and *-s-* are related ; which of the two is primary is not determinable with the help of existing materials ; for some perspectives, *cf.* my paper in *JORM*, April 1932.

Type IV

For the *-cc-* of this type I would suggest a phonetic origin similar to that *-cc-* of the following :—

Tamil *kâcc-* (to heat) < *kây-t(t)u* where *-t* is a causal particle

,, *ôcc-* (to throw) < *ôy-tt-*

,, *pâycc-* (to fling) < *pây-tt-*

Tamil colloquial Past stem *vaycc-*, *vay-tt-* (of *vay-* 'to place'), and similar Past stems like, *meycc-*, *kaycc-*, *ê(y)cc-*, *moycc-*, *taycc-* (respectively of *mey-* 'to graze', *kay-* 'to be bitter', *êy-* 'to join', *moy-* 'to gather, as flies or ants', *tay-* 'to stitch').

These analogies indicate that phonetically *-cc-* of Type IV may have been the palatalized resultants of an older *-tt-*.

We know that a number of *guṇavacana* bases of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu do incorporate *-t-*, *-d-* or *-tt-* in final positions :

Kannaḍa	Tamil	Telugu
mellittu (soft)		
taṇṇittu (cold)		
kammittu (fragrant)		
inidu (sweet)	*inidu* (sweet)	
kiṛidu (small)	*śiṛudu* (small)	
kaḍidu (hard)	*kaḍidu* (hard)	*gaḍusu* (hard)
piridu (great)	*peridu*, *periśu*	
	puḷidu (sour)	*puḷusu*

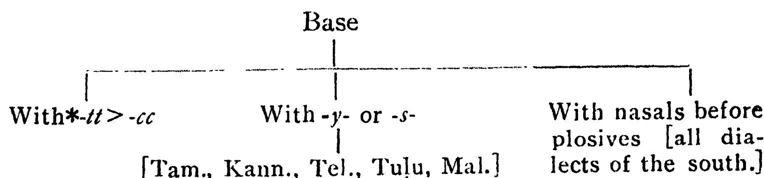
In Kannaḍa the forms are attributive nouns with an adjectival function (see p. 249 of Kittel's *Gr.*). The Tamil and the Telugu instances, however, are mere attributive nouns and are not used adjectivally before nouns.

In origin, the endings are all alike. As Kittel has observed in respect of the Kannaḍa forms (p. 249, *Gr.*) *-d*, *-tt* are remnants of the old neuter pronoun and *-i-* appearing between the base and *-d*, *-tt* is probably euphonic.

That *-i-d(ŭ)*, *-i-tt(u)* do not form integral parts of the words has been recognized also by Sûtra 46 of *Śabdânuśâsana.*

These analogies would suggest that in Type IV the characteristic *-cc-* may have to be traced to the palatalization of an older *-tt* of pronominal origin, as in *mellittu*, *inidu*, etc.

Putting all these suggestions together, I would postulate the following scheme of inter-relationship for the endings of the different types of the words for 'red', 'green' and 'hot';



Some of the Peculiarities[1] of the Kannaḍa Forms

1. *ane*, the particle appearing after Type IV has an adverbial force in this and other instances :

kammane (fragrantly)
neṭṭane (straightly)
summanē (purposelessly)

Another ending (more common in the common dialect), employed with the same adverbial signification is *age*, as in

kammaġe *cf.* *-ga* of Telugu in *kammaga*
neṭṭage
summagē.

This *-age* is clearly an Infinitive participle of *ag-* 'to become', with final *-e* which is described by grammarians as the *sati saptami* particle characteristically associated in Kannaḍa with the Infinitive participle.

But what is *-ane* ?

That it is but a particle which does not form a portion of the base has been recognized by the old grammars, but no suggestion exists in them as to its origin or affiliations. Kittel (p. 169 of his *Grammar*) suggests that "*ane* may be another form of *age*, or belong (especially in *anukaraṇas* which not infrequently are written either with final *ane* or *ene*) to *an-* and *en-* 'to say', and mean 'so that it says'."

This is not conclusive, and the matter has to be pursued further.

[1] The *Vyâkhyâ* to Sûtra 343 of *Śabdânuśâsana* recognizes the following among other things : (i) *-ane* is an affix-particle undergoing elision (*lopa*) according to Sûtra 333 ; (ii) *-i-* appears as *-e-* in the radicals of Type of our words; according to Sûtra 334 ; (iii) the lengthening of *-e-* in *kês-*, *bês-* is in accordance with Sûtra 335. These suggestions have of course to be interpreted in the light of the evidence furnished by other dialects and of general phonetic laws underlying the changes concerned.

All cases of *-ane, -ene, -ana* and *-anna* of Kannaḍa may be classified thus:

(1)	(2)	(3)
-ane (with adverbial force)	*-ane* or *-ene*	*-anna* (or rarely *-ane, -ana -âna*)
↓	↓	↓
With *guṇa-vacana* bases: *kammane*, etc.	With *anukarana* words like *dhígilane, bommene*, etc.	In North Kannaḍa usage, adjectivally, *e g.*, *taṇṇanna usubu* (cold sand) *uddana kodalu* (long) *dappane baṭṭe* (thick cloth) *daṇḍâne padârtha*

For (2) above, Tamil offers immediate analogies: Sûtra 356 of *Nannûl* refers explicitly to *accakkuṟippu* and *viraivukkuṟippu* like the following, formed with *eṇa* which is considered here (I think, rightly) to be the same as *ena-*, the Infinitive of *en-* (to say):—*poḷḷena*

kaḍum-ena

tiḍuk-ena, etc.

The Kannaḍa *-ane* alternating with *-ene* in (2) above [*anukaraṇas*] may be considered to be the Infinitive of *an-* and *en-* both of which exist in Kannaḍa with the meaning 'to say'.

As for the North Kannaḍa instances in (3) above, Kittel argues that *-anna* is derivable from Kannaḍa *andha*[1] [constituted of *anta*, the Past Relative participle of *an-* 'to say,' and *aha* < *appa*, the Future Relative participle of *ag-* 'to become"].

We now come to *-ane* of (1) above. Kittel's view that *ane* may be derived from *ag-* 'to become', is not appealing

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[1] *-andha* occurs in epithets like *sundara-(v)-âd-andha* (beautiful) in old texts, and *-anna* is quite likely a descendant of *-andha* (as Kittel observes on p. 248 of his book); it is also probable that *-ana* of adjectival *uddana, etc.*, is connected with this *anna* (< *andha*) with the adjectival signification. But how are we to account for the final *-e* of instances like *dappane* used adjectivally in North Kannaḍa? The final *-e* has probably been imported into these forms by analogy from the adverbial *ane*.

because it is difficult to account for the final *-e* according to this view. *âna* in Kannaḍa is an alternative Relative Past participle occurring beside *âda*; this *âna* contains no *-e*. Further, how could an original Relative participle come to express an adverbial signification?

On the other hand, if we consider that *-ane*[1] is the Infinitive (with *sati saptami* particle *e* of Kannaḍa) of *an-* 'to say', employed with the meaning 'so that it says', the adverbial signification is readily explained.

2. What is usually described (in the old grammars) as *-m* appearing in Type I, is merely a nasal, the character of which varies with the nature of the consonant following: the consonant groups formed with the nasal are *-ṅg-*, *-ñj-*, *-ṇḍ-*, *-mb-*, *-mm-*, and *-nn-*, respectively in connection with *k, c, ṭ, p, m* and *n*.

We have seen above that the precise origin of the nasal in Type I cannot be ascertained; all that we can say at present is that a nasal of this kind varying in character with that of the plosive, affricate, *m* or *n* following, exists in Type I in all the cultivated speeches of the south and is also found reflected in the nasalized vowel of the form for 'red' in Kuru*kh*.

We know that in *samâsas*, *m* and *n* finals (when combining with plosives or affricates) become *varga* nasals corresponding to the consonants concerned. This is explicitly recognized by Sûtra 80 of *Śabdânuśâsana* for Kannaḍa; and in the main this principle holds good for the other speeches also. $m+k(g)$, for instance, is in none of the southern speeches pronounced as *mg* but always as *ṅg*. The use of the bindu in script (optionally prescribed in the stead of the *samśleṣa* script in the above Sûtra of *Śabdânuśâsana*) being purely "graphic", the actual evaluation of the *varga* nasals should (I think) have arisen at a very early stage.

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[1] With this Kannaḍa particle *-ane* with an adverbial force, we may compare Malayâḷam *-ane* in *poḍunnane* (suddenly), *ceṟuññane* (shortly), *neṭṭane* (perpendicularly) and also Telugu *-ana* in *mellana* (slowness), *grukkana* (suddenly), *eṟṟana* (redness), *paccana* (greenness), etc.

So far as Type I is concerned, we have no means of determining whether the nasal was a "spontaneous" one or whether it was *-m-* or *-n-*. Such being the case, there appears no justification for the view of the old grammarians that the nasal here was definitely *-m*.[1]

3. A radical vowel *-i-* appears more frequently in the Kannaḍa illustrations of Type of words for 'red' and 'hot' than in those of the other dialects. We find that in the other types the radical vowel is, generally speaking, *-e-*.

The relationship of radical *-i-* and *-e-* in these particular instances is part of a larger problem that concerns all the southern speeches. The problem crops up acutely in Kannaḍa in connection with forms like the following, where variants with *-i-* and *-e-* and with *-u-* and *-o-* are found in definite conditions:

piridu	*per- molai*	[Sûtra 334 of *Śabdânuśâsana*]
ugu	*okkam*	[Sûtra 489 of the same]
kuḍu	*koṭṭam*	
old *kuḍu* [new *koḍu*]	*kôḍu*	[Sûtra 490 of the same]
old *kiḍu* [new *keḍu*]	*kêḍu*	

Some of the other dialects show *-e-* and *-o-* respectively for *-i-* and *-u-* of the above old Kannaḍa forms: Tamil *peridu* (big), *okk-*(to fit), *koḍ-*(to give), *keḍ-*(to rot); this need not (as I have shown elsewhere) lead to the postulate that there was a 'harmonic closure' (under the influence of closed vowels following) in Kannaḍa. The problem of *-i-* and *-e-* in radical positions affects other words of several dialects, and has to be approached from a more general standpoint.

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[1] The view propounded in the old Kannaḍa grammars [see Sûtra 77 of *Śś.*] is that the old nasal was *m* and that this has changed before vowels to *-n(n)-*, as in Kannaḍa *bennu* (back), *ben-n-uri* (hot flame), *etc.* I have discussed elsewhere the difficulties in accepting this view of an original *m* in such contexts.

ŚRĪ VIDYĀ

Part III—Upasana-Krama

Section (4)—Sri Cakra Puja

BY K. NARAYANASWAMI IYAR

1. Introduction

THE Pṛśnis describe, in the Vedas, the fruit of Śrī Cakra Upāsana as follows :—

यो वै तां ब्रह्मणो वेद । अमृतेनावृतां पुरीं ।
तस्मै ब्रह्म च ब्रह्मा च । आयुः कीर्तिं प्रजां ददुः ॥

Yantras are mystical diagrams drawn on metallic tablets and possessing occult powers. Each goddess has a yantra assigned to her. It is generally placed in the centre of a lotus figure, the bīja of the goddess being inscribed on the pericap and those of the attendant deities on the petals. The substance of a yantra is mantra and that of the mantra is the devata. The relation between a yantra and devata is what obtains between body and soul. It is, therefore, said in the Tantras :—

यन्त्रं मन्त्रमयं प्रोक्तं । मन्त्रात्मा देवतैव हि ।
देहात्मनोर्यथा भेदो । यन्त्रदेवतयोस्तथा ॥

The three features of a yantra are that it is complete in itself; represents a horizontal section and has in the centre the sign of the origin, be it a circle or other figure.

2. Sri Cakra

It is so called as it has the form of Śrī Sundarī (श्रीसुन्दरीरूपत्वात्). It is the king of yantras (चक्रराज). It is a nine-angled figure. According to Candrakalā Vidyā, the angles represent the nine Vyūhas, *viz.*, (1) Kāla (time) including the sun and the moon ; (2) Kula (form) comprising things that have form and colour ; (3) Nāma (name) consisting of things that have a name ; (4) Jñāna (intelligence) being divided into savikalpa (mixed and changeable) and nirvikalpa (pure

and unchanging); (5) Citta (consciousness) comprising (*a*) ahamkāra, (*b*) citta, (*c*) buddhi, (*d*) manas and (*e*) unmanas; (6) Nāda consisting of (*a*) rāga, (*b*) icchā, (*c*) kṛtā, and (*d*) prayatna corresponding to (*a*) parā, (*b*) paśyantī, (*c*) madhyamā, and (*d*) vaikharī; (7) Bindu consisting of cakras; (8) Kalā comprising the fifty letters; and (9) Jīva consisting of souls in bondage. The Tantras say:—

कालव्यूहः कुलव्यूहो नामव्यूहस्तथैव च ।
ज्ञानव्यूहस्तथा चित्तव्यूहस्यात् तदनन्तरम् ॥
नादव्यूहस्तथा बिन्दुव्यूहस्यात् तदनन्तरम् ।
कलाव्यूहस्तथा जीवव्यूहस्यात् इति ते नव ॥

The explanation offered for this grouping is that Ānandabhairava or Mahābhairava is made of these Vyūhas and that Mahābhairava being the soul of the Goddess Mahābhairavī both together constitute one entity. When there is samarasya (community of joy) between them, creation follows. Śāradā Tilaka says:—

शिवशक्तिसंयोगात् जायते सृष्टिकल्पना ।

The female element (Mahābhairavī) predominates in the process of creation, while the male element (Mahābhairava) preponderates in the work of destruction. These Vyūhas are arranged in three divisions, namely, (1) Bhokta (enjoyer) comprising the ninth (jīva) group; (2) Bhogya (objects of enjoyment) consisting of the first (kāla), second (kula), third (nāma), fifth (citta), sixth (nāda), seventh (bindu) and eighth (kalā) groups; and (3) Bhoga (enjoyment) comprising the fourth (jñāna) group.

3. Mythological Account of It

Śrī Cakra or the abode of Tripurasundarī is mythologically described thus. There is an ocean of nectar (सुधासिन्धु) in which there are five celestial trees (सुरविटपि). There is also a row or enclosure of Nīpa or Kadamba trees (नीपोपवन). In its midst is a pavilion made of jewel stones. In that pavilion is a palace made of the wish-giving stone (चिन्तामणिगृह) where lies the great Tripurasundarī on a couch which is Śiva (शिवाकारे मञ्चे) with Maheśāna for its coverlet (परमाशिवपर्यङ्क)

and Sadāśiva for its pillow. Śrī Śankarācārya describes this beautifully in his Soundarya Laharī :—

सुधासिन्धोर्मध्ये सुरविटपिवाटीपरिवृते ।
मणिद्वीपे नीपोपवनवति चिन्तामणिगृहे ॥
शिवाकारे मञ्चे परमशिवपर्यङ्कनिलयां ।
भजन्ति त्वां धन्याः कतिचन चिदानन्दलहरीम् ॥

Bhairava Yāmala says that the abode of bindu is the ocean of nectar; the five yonis, *i.e.*, Śaktikoṇas in the Śrī Cakra, are divine trees and the grove of nīpa trees symbolises Śiva Cakras. Within that is the wall of gems and inside it is the palace of Cintāmaṇi (baindava). The Śākta Tantras call the vast tract of consciousness an ocean of nectar set in which is the bindu as isle of gems (maṇidvīpa) wherein Supreme Self as Highest Concept is the logical order of the alogical Ṙeal.

4. Its Construction

(1) General

(*a*) *According to Vedas.*—The Atharva Veda describes the construction of Śrī Cakra as below :—

अष्टाचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या ।
तस्यांहिरण्मयः कोशः स्वर्गो ज्योतिषाऽवृतः ॥
तस्यां हिरण्मये कोशे त्र्यरे त्रिप्रतिष्ठिते ।
तस्मिन् यद्येकाक्षं आत्मन्वैतत् तद्वै ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ॥
प्रभ्राजमानां हरिणीं यशसा संपरीवृतां ।
पुरीं हिरण्मयीं ब्रह्म आविवेशापराजिताम् ॥

This impregnable city of gods is made of eight cakras (अष्टाचक्रा) and nine triangles (नवद्वारा). In it is a gold castle which is celestial and luminous. Within it in a triangle (त्र्यर) and three dots (त्रिप्रतिष्ठित) is an eye. Those who know Brahman know that it is the Ātman. Brahman has entered this invincible, resplendent, renowned and golden city.

(*b*) *According to Tantras, etc.*—Śrī Cakra is made of nine triangles, one within another, till the central bindu is reached. Of these triangles, four have their apexes pointing upwards (Śrīkaṇṭhas or Śivakoṇas) and five have their

apexes pointing downwards (Śivayuvatis or Śaktikoṇas). The central triangle signifies the mūla prakṛti and the other eight denote Avyakta, Mahat, Ahaṃkāra and five tanmātras which are both prakṛti and vikṛti. These nine triangles give rise to forty-three small triangles which, with the bindu, make forty-four (catuścatvāriṃśat). Around these are a lotus of eight petals (vasudaḷa), a lotus of sixteen petals (kalāśra), three circles (trivalaya) and three squares (trirekha). Thus is the construction of the abode of Devī (Śaraṇakoṇas). Śrī Śankarācārya describes it in his Soundarya Laharī thus:—

चतुर्भिः श्रीकण्ठैः शिवयुवातिभिः ।
पञ्चभिरपि प्राभिन्नाभिः शंभोः ॥
नवभिरपि मूलप्रकृतिभिः ।
चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् वसुदळ कळाश्र ॥
त्रिवलय त्रिरेखाभिः सार्धं ।
तव शरणकोणाः परिणताः ॥

The above-said forty-four angles (one bindu and forty-three triangles) arrange themselves in six figures as below:—

(1) The bindu in the centre;
(2) a triangle around (1);
(3) a figure of eight triangles outside (2);
(4) a figure of ten triangles around (3);
(5) another figure of ten triangles outside (4); and
(6) a figure of fourteen angles around (5).

These six figures, together with the above-named three figures, *viz.*, (1) a lotus of eight petals, (2) a lotus of sixteen petals, (3) a set of three circles, and (4) a set of three squares, complete Śrī Cakra.

(2) Geometrical Explanation

Geometrically, the dot or point represents the monad and the eye (point prolonged) the dyad. The triangle signifies the triad Being, Intelligence and Bliss; Static, Dynamic and Ideal; Knower, Knowing and Known; or Actor, Acting and Action. A square stands for four elements earth, air, water and fire or four seasons of heat, cold, moisture

and dryness. Hexagon is made of two triangles and is a symbol of polarisation, *i.e.*, action and reaction or inhalation and exhalation. Octagon is a double square and signifies balance (equilibrium) or four causes with their effects. Three-fold outer circle represents subjective, noumenal and ideal cosmos. Outer squares symbolize manifested and objective cosmos mystically called a city four square (bhūpura).

(3) Division of Figures into Siva and Sakti

(*a*) ***Their Description.***—In Lalitā Triśati Stotra, Bhagavān Hayagrīva describes to sage Agastya the Śiva and Śakti Cakras as below :—

चतुर्भिः शिवचक्रैः शक्तिचक्रैश्च पञ्चभिः ।
नवचक्रैश्च संसिद्धं श्रीचक्रं शिवयोर्वपुः ॥
त्रिकोणमष्टकोणं च दशकोणद्वयं तथा ।
चतुर्दशारश्चैतानि शक्तिचक्राणि पञ्च च ॥
बिन्दुश्चाष्टदळं पद्मं षोडशपत्रकं ।
चतुरश्रं च चत्वारि शिवचक्राण्यनुक्रमात् ॥

The Śakti Cakras are five and comprise a trikoṇa (triangle); an aṣṭakoṇa (eight-angled figure); daśakoṇa dvayam (two ten-agled figures) and a caturdaśāram (fourteen-angled figure). The Śiva Cakras are four consisting of bindu, aṣṭadaḷa padma (a lotus of eight petals), ṣoḍaśapatrakam (a lotus of sixteen petals) and caturaśram (square).

(*b*) ***Their Union.***—Bhagavān Hayagrīva also explains the union of Śakti and Śiva Cakras as follows :—

त्रिकोणे बैन्दवं श्लिष्टं अष्टारेऽष्टदळाम्बुजं ।
दशारयोः षोडशारं भूगृहं भुवनाश्रके ॥
शैवानामपि शाक्तानां चक्राणां च परस्परं ।
अविनाभावसंबन्धं यो जानाति स चक्रवित् ॥
त्रिकोणरूपिणीशक्तिः बिन्दुरूपः पर.शिवः ॥

Bhagavān Gauḍapādācārya in his Subhagodaya describes this union thus :—

त्रिकोणे ते वृत्तत्रयं अथ कोणे वसुदळं ।
कळाश्रं मिश्रारे भवति भुवनाश्रे त्रिभुवनं ॥
चतुश्चक्रं शैवं निवसति भगे शाक्तकमुमे ।
प्रधानैक्यं षोडाभवति च तयोः शक्तिशिवयोः ॥

(4) Sri Cakra according to Kamakala Vilasa

According to Kāmakalā Vilāsa of Srīmat Puṇyānanda, all the nine triangles of Śrī Cakra are of Śakti alone (शक्तिनवकमयं नवत्रिकोणं and नवयोन्यात्मकं). The five Śaktis of Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, Ambikā and Parāśakti represent the Adhomukha Koṇas and the four Śaktis of Icchā, Jñāna, Kriyā and Śāntā stand for the Ūrdhvamukha Koṇas.

(5) Prastaras

Śrī Cakra is of three kinds, *viz.*, Meru, Kailāsa and Bhū. Meru is identified with sixteen nitya deities (नित्याषोडशतादात्म्यं), Kailāsa with eight mātṛkas (मातृकातादात्म्यं) and Bhū with Vaśinī deities (वशिन्यादि तादात्म्यं). Meru is the same as the Bhū except that in the former the nine triangles are put one above another in different places so that the whole becomes shaped like a pyramid and the bindu is put at the top of it. There is no difference between the Bhū and Kailāsa Cakras except in the arrangement of bīja akṣaras therein.

(6) Kramas in Drawing

There are two ways in which Śrī Cakra is described. The laya-krama or samhāra mārga starts from the outermost cakra and works inwards till the bindu is reached. The sṛṣṭi-krama begins with the bindu and works outwards till the bhūpura is reached.

(7) Name and Description of Each Cakra

Following the sṛṣṭi-mārga and starting from the innermost, the Cakras are named as below:—(*a*) सर्वानन्दमया, (*b*) सर्वासिद्धिप्रदा, (*c*) सर्वरक्षाकरा, (*d*) सर्वरोगहरा, (*e*) सर्वार्थसाधका, (*f*) सर्वसौभाग्यदायका, (*g*) सर्वसंक्षोभना, (*h*) सर्वाशापरिपूरका, (*i*) त्रैलोक्य-मोहना. Kāmakalā Vilāsa, which follows the samhāra mārga, calls Śrī Cakra त्रैलोक्यमोहनादि बैन्दवान्तनवावरणात्मका.

The Cakras are thus described in detail in the Tantras:—

Baindava.—In the baindavasthāna is united Kāmeśvara and Kāmeśvarī as Devī Tripurasundarī or Lalitā who is

Ātma (bodied Jīvātma or bodiless Paramātma). For, Kāmeśvara is Supreme Samvit without upādhi and Kāmeśvarī is His Śakti.

(*a*) *Sarvānandamayā Cakra.*—It is made of three bindus (बिन्दुत्रयं) of rakta, śukla and miśra colours signifying the three tejas of Soma, Sūrya and Vanhi. It stands for samhāra-samhāra. These three bindus constitute the Kāmakalā being the prakāśa-vimarśa, vimarśa and prakāśa aspects of parābindu which thus differentiates to create the Universe and which is symbolized by the anusvāra and visarga of śabda or by the outgoing (हं) and intaking (सः) breaths in human body. Paramātma making himself into male and female principles results in the union of prakāśa and vimarśa. This union is Kāmeśvarī rūpam. There are thus three unions (mithuna-traya) giving rise to three augha kramas, *viz.*, divya, siddha and mānava. There are three nāthās presiding over them, *viz.*, Mitreśvarī who is Ūrdhvadīpanātha, Vajreśvarī who is Jyeṣṭhanātha and Bhagamālinī who is Mitradevanātha. Bindu (parā) becomes trikoṇa, *i.e.*, develops into paśyantī, madhyamā and vaikharī.

(*b*) *Sarvasiddhipradā Cakra.*—It is a triangle which stands for samhāra-sthiti. At the corners of this are the śaktis Kāmeśvarī (distinguished both from Supreme Kāmeśvarī and Nitya Kāmeśvarī), Vajreśvarī and Bhagamālinī who represent, respectively, Avyakta or Prakṛti, Mahat (Cosmic Buddhi) and Ahamkāra. The three corners of the triangle represent the three pīṭhas of Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri and Jālandhara. In the centre is Auḍḍiyāna Pīṭha. In the spaces outside this triangle are the five tanmātras (represented by the five arrows of Kāma), manas (his sugarcane bow), rāga (his noose), and dveṣa (his goad). Bhāvanopaniṣad says:—

शब्दादितन्मात्राः पञ्चपुष्पबाणाः ।
मनइक्षुधनुः रागः पाशो द्वेषोऽङ्कुशः ।

In this cakra reside the Rahasyātirahasya Yoginīs.

(*c*) *Sarvarakṣākarā Cakra.*—It is made of eight angles (Vasu-koṇa or aṣṭa-koṇa) and it is श ष स पवर्गमयम्. The devīs resident

here are Vaśinī, Kāmeśvarī, Mohinī, Vimalā, Aruṇā, Jayinī, Sarveśvarī and Kaulinī. They are arunākāras and are the devatas presiding over cold (śīta), heat (uṣṇa), happiness (sukha), pain (duḥkha), desire (icchā) as also, sattva, rajas and tamas. By upāsana here, the sādhaka gets control over the guṇas and becomes unaffected by the dvandvas (opposites). Bhāvanopaniṣad asserts :—

शीतोष्ण सुखदुःखेच्छाः सत्वं रजस्तमो वशिन्यादि शक्तयोऽष्टौ ।

In this cakra are the Rahasya Yoginīs.

(d) Sarvarogaharā Cakra.—It is made of ten angles (antardaśāram) ; stands for sthiti-samhāra and is तवर्ग-टवर्गात्मकाक्षरदशकरूपम्. It is presided over by ten śaktis, *viz.*, Sarvajñā, Sarvaśaktipradā, Sarvaiśvaryapradā, Sarvajñānamayī, Sarvavyādhivināśinī, Sarvādhārā, Sarvapāpaharā, Sarvānandamayī, Sarvarakṣā and Sarvepsitaphalapradā. These are deities that preside over the functions of vital fire (Vanhi Kalā), namely, recaka (elimination), pācaka (digestion), śoṣaṇa (removing doṣa of jaṭharāgni), dāhaka (burning), plāvaka (flooding, *i.e.*, giving rasa which helps jaṭharāgni), kṣāraka (bile-secreting), udgāraka (belching), kṣobhaka (churning food), jṛmbhaka (yawning) and mohaka (causing pain and faint). Tantrarāja says :—

वन्हयो दशसंप्रोक्ताः सर्वज्ञाद्याश्च शक्तयः ।

The Nigama Yoginīs are in this cakra.

(e) Sarvārthasādhakā Cakra.—It is made of ten angles (bahir-daśāra) ; represents sthiti-sthiti and is चवर्गकवर्गात्मकाक्षरदशकरूपम्. The devīs here are Sarvasiddhipradā, Sarvasampatpradā, Sarvapriyamkarī, Sarvamangaḷakāriṇī, Sarvakāmapradā, Sarvaduḥkhavimocinī, Sarvamṛtyupraśaminī, Sarvavighnanivāriṇī, Sarvāngasundarī and Sarvasaubhāgyadāyinī. These are the presiding devatas of the ten prāṇas which are controlled by worship. In this cakra are the Kula Yoginīs. Tantrarāja says :—

वायवो दशसंप्रोक्ताः सर्वसिद्धयादि शक्तयः ।

(f) Sarvasaubhāgyadāyakā Cakra.—It has fourteen angles (bhuvanāśra, manvaśra or caturdaśāra); represents sthiti-sṛṣṭi

and is आदिचतुर्दशवर्णात्मकम्. There are here fourteen śaktis, namely, Sarvasamkṣobhinī, Sarvavidrāviṇī, Sarvākarṣiṇī, Sarvāhlādinī, Sarvasammohanā, Sarvastambhinī, Sarvajambhinī, Sarvavaśamkarī, Sarvaranjinī, Sarvonmādinī, Sarvārthasādhinī, Sarvasampattipūraṇī, Sarvamantramayī and Sarvadvandvakṣayamkarī. They are the adhidevatas of fourteen principal nāḍīs in the human body, *viz.*, Alambuṣā, Kuhu, Viśvodarā, Vāraṇā, Hastijihvā, Yaśovatī, Payasvinī, Gāndhārī, Pūṣā, Śankhinī, Sarasvatī, Iḍā, Pingalā and Śuṣumnā. Tantrarāja asserts :—

नाड्यश्चतुर्दशः प्रोक्ताः क्षोभिण्याद्यास्तु शक्तयः ।

In this cakra are the Sampradāya Yoginīs.

(*g*) *Sarvasamkṣobhanā Cakra.*—It is a lotus of eight petals; stands for sṛṣṭi-samhāra and is कादिअष्टवर्णरूपम्. It surrounds the circle in which the triangles already mentioned are placed. The devīs herein are Anangakusumā, Anangamekhalā, Anangamadanā, Anangamadanāturā, Anangarekhā, Anangaveginī, Anangamadanānkuśā and Anangamālinī. They are the presiding devatas of speech (vacanā), grasping (ādāna), walking (gamana), excreting or rejecting (visarjana), pleasurable feeling (ānanda), relinquishment (hāna), concentration (upādāna) and detachment (upekṣa). In this cakra are the Guptatara Yoginīs.

(*h*) *Sarvāśāparipūrakā Cakra* :—It is a lotus of sixteen petals; represents sṛṣṭi-sthiti and is षोडश स्वररूपम्. Here are sixteen śaktis, namely, Kāmākarṣiṇī, Buddhyākarṣiṇī, Ahamkārākarṣiṇī, Śabdākarṣiṇī, Sparśākarṣiṇī, Rūpākarṣiṇī, Rasākarṣiṇī, Gandhākarṣiṇī, Cittākarṣiṇī, Dhairyākarṣiṇī, Nāmākarṣiṇī, Bījākarṣiṇī, Amṛtākarṣiṇī, Smṛtyākarṣiṇī, Śarīrākarṣiṇī and Ātmākarṣiṇī. They are the presiding devatas of the powers of control over kāma, buddhi, ahamkāra, śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa, gandha, citta, dhairya, nāma, bīja, amṛta, smṛti, śarīra and ātmā. These powers are acquired by worship at this cakra. In this cakra are the Gupta Yoginīs.

(*i*) *Trailokyamohanā Cakra.*—This cakra represents sṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi. The whole yantra is placed on this cakra. It is made

of four circular lines containing three circular spaces. Outside these circles is the bhūpura made of three squares with openings at the four cardinal points (dik). On the outermost line (sarvānta caturaśra) are worshipped the ten siddhis, *viz.*, Aṇimā, Mahimā, Laghimā, Īśatva, Icchā, Vaśitva, Prāpti, Prākāmya, Bhukti and Sarvakāma—four at the doors, four at the corners, one above and one below. At the middle line of bhūpura (madhyama caturaśra) are worshipped the eight mātṛkas, *viz.*, Brāhmi, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmi at the four doors and the four corners. These are the adhidevatas of Kāma, Krōdha, Lōbha, Mōha, Mada and Mātsarya. On the inner line of the bhūpura are worshipped ten mudrā śaktis, *viz.*, Sarvasamkṣobhiṇī, Sarvavidrāviṇī, Sarvākarṣiṇī, Sarvāveśakāriṇī, Sarvonmādinī, Mahānkuśā, Kecarī, Bījamudrā, Mahāyonī and Trikhaṇḍikā. In this cakra are the Prakaṭa Yoginīs.

(8) SIGNIFICANCE OF ŚRI CAKRA

(*a*) *As a Symbol of Universe.*—Śrī Cakra shows the evolution proceeding from the beginning of time towards where space manifests itself in the material world. This cosmological becoming is covered by this explanatory diagram wherein evolution is shown to proceed from the circle to the quadrilateral. It shows the different stages of becoming and the way back to the origin.

The yantra shows a horizontal section of the cosmos going through the middle of its origin indicated by the bindu within the innermost triangle. Out of this develops a polarity which is shown by some of the triangles being ūrdhvamukhas and the others adhomukhas. Where these cover each other new triangles arise, showing the play of forces. All are parts contributing to the whole, except the bindu which is their origin and aim. According to Bhairava Yāmaḷa, Śrī Cakra represents the whole cosmos formed of twenty-five tattvas, *viz.*, five bhūtas, five tanmātras, ten indriyas, mind, māyā, śuddhavidyā, Maheśa and Sadāśiva. Three hundred and

sixty of the countless rays of the Cakra illumine the whole world in the form of Fire, Sun and Moon (Agni having 118 rays, sun 106 rays and moon 136 rays). Bhairava Yāmaḷa says :—

अष्टोत्तरशतं वन्हेः षोडशोत्तरकं रवेः ।
षड्त्रिंशदुत्तरशतं चन्द्रस्य च विनिर्णयः ॥

(*b*) *As a Symbol of Human Body.*—Śrī Cakra is in the human body in the shape of Meru prastāra, the cakras in the body representing the cakras in the yantra and the brahmarandhra signifying the baindava sthāna. Bhagavān Gauḍapādācārya identifies it with Kuṇḍalinī in his Subhagodaya :—

त्रिकोणं चाधारं त्रिपुर तनुतेऽष्टारमनघे ।
तव स्वाधिष्ठानं भगवति दशारं मणिपुरं ॥
दशारं ते संवित् कमलमथमन्वस्रकमुमे ।
विशुद्धं स्यात् आज्ञाशिव इति ततो बैन्दवगृहं ॥

Trikoṇa represents the ādhāra (mūlādhāra); aṣṭakoṇa the svādhiṣṭhāna; antardaśāram the maṇipuram; bahir-daśāram the anāhatam; caturaśram the viśuddhi and these are Śakti cakras. Bindu is a Śiva Cakra and it represents ājnā.

Bhāskara Rāya, in his commentary on Bhāvanopaniṣad, says that the nine cakras of Śrī Cakra correspond to the nine ādhāras in the human body, *viz.*, ṣat-cakras, two lotuses of thousand petals (kula and akula) at the bottom and top of the Śuṣumna and the lambikāgra (a centre below the eyes and behind the nose). It is said :—

मूलाधारादि षट्कमूर्ध्वाधसहस्रदळ कमले द्वे लम्बिकाग्रमिति नवाधाराः ।

5. Sri Cakra Upasana

It is a well-known method of propitiating Devī. Śrī Śankarācārya has placed a Śrī Cakra in each of the mutts founded by him. Devī as śakti is the personification of the universal energy residing in macrocosm and microcosm. Its discovery and development in man is the aim of all Mantra Śāstras. Devī is worshipped in the centre of each of the nine cakras of Śri Cakra under one of her nine names, *viz.*, Tripurā,

Tripureśī, Tripurasundarī, Tripuravāsinī, Tripuraśrī, Tripuranaḷinī, Tripurasiddhī, Tripurāmbā and Mahātripurasundarī. She is called the Ādya or Angi as around her are worshipped in each cakra the āvaraṇa śaktis already mentioned. According to Śrī Śankarācārya, the following bījas should be inscribed in the cakras :—

(1) *Tiśra*—(*a*) *Inside* ओं नमः इं, ईं.

(*b*) *Outside.* On the right ह स क ल ह्रीं; at bottom, ह स क ह ल ह्रीं and on the left स क ल ह्रीं.

(2) *Aṣṭakoṇa*—Beginning from top, Vaśinīs (or nityas in twos) should be written clockwise (प्रदक्षिणतः).

(3) *Antar-daśāra*—Beginning from the bottom should be inscribed counter-clockwise (अप्रदक्षिणतः) the following ten bījas :—

यं, रं, लं, वं, शं, षं, सं, हं, ळं, क्षं.

(4) *Bahir-daśāra*—Beginning from the bottom should be inscribed counter-clockwise the following ten bījas :—

कं, खं, गं, घं, ङं, चं, छं, जं, झं, ञं.

(5) *Manvaśra*—Starting from the bottom should be written counter-clockwise the following fourteen bījas :—

टं, ठं, डं, ढं, णं, तं, थं, दं, धं, नं, पं, फं, बं, भं.

(6) *Aṣṭadaḷa*—Beginning from the bottom, two nityas should be inscribed counter-clockwise on each petal.

(7) *Ṣoḍaśadaḷa*—Beginning from the top should be inscribed clockwise the sixteen bījas made of svaras one on each petal as below :—

अं, आं, इं, ईं, उं, ऊं, ऋं, ॠं, लृं, ॡं, एं, ऐं, ओं, औं, अं, अः.

(8) *Bhūpura*—Bāhyatame, Aṇimādi eight siddhis should be inscribed; madhye, Brāhmyādi eight mātṛkas; and antaḥ, Sarvasamkṣobhiṇyādi ten mudras. According to certain Śrī Vidyā Ācāryās, the following weapons are worshipped in tiśra with the bījas associated with them :—At the top (purataḥ), pāśa with vaśīkaraṇa bīja, *viz.*, आं ह्रीं; on the right, ankuśa with the stambhana bīja, *viz.*, क्रों; on the left, dhanus with the mohana bīja, *viz.*, धं धं; and at bottom, the five bāṇas

(arrows) with jambhana bījas, *viz.*, द्रां, द्रीं, क्लीं, ब्लूं, स:. Also, at the points (kṣoneṣu) are worshipped Bhagamālinī (Brahma Śakti), Kāmeśvarī (Rudra Śakti) and Vajreśvarī (Viṣṇu Śakti).

The worship of Śrī Cakra consists in throwing over it a profusion of red turmeric powder (Kunkuma) accompanied by long streams of the names of Lalitā, such as Sahasranāma, Triśati or Aṣṭottara, each name being prefaced by the praṇava (ओं). Red colour is associated with Devī as she is Vimarśa śakti of Prakāśa Śiva. Therefore, Lalitā is red. Bhāvanopaniṣad says :—

लौहित्यं एतस्य सर्वस्य विमर्शः ॥

VIJJIKĀ

By K. Raghavacharyulu, B.A., B.L.

The Goddess of Learning has, from time immemorial, made no distinction of sex in showering her choicest blessings. The Upaniṣadic lore has disclosed to us the figures of Gārgī and Maitreyī who rivalled sages like Yājñavalkya in the knowledge of Brahman and held learned discourses with him. From the Vedas, we learn the names of the early Indian poetesses like Ghoṣā, Godhā, Viśvavārā, Apālā, Lopāmudrā, Sāśvatī and Romaśā. The sūtras of Vātsyāyana (1-3-12) inform us that courtezans and daughters of princes and prime ministers were well versed in the sciences :—

सन्त्यपि खलु शास्त्रप्रहतबुद्धयो गणिका राजपुत्र्यो महामात्रदुहितरश्च ।

(वा. का. सू. 1-3-12.)

An echo of this is found in the *Kāvyamīmāmsa* of Rājaśekhara (p. 53, Baroda Edn.): Women may become poetesses like men. Accomplishment is intimately connected with the soul and does not depend upon the distinction of sex. We have heard and also seen daughters of princes and prime ministers, courtezans and wives of jesters, well versed in sciences and poetesses too.

पुरुषवत् योषितोऽपि · · · · कवयश्च ।

The wife of Rājaśekhara by name Avantisundarī seems to have written a work on rhetoric and has been quoted in the *Kāvyamīmāmsa* thrice.[1] It would also appear that it was at her instance the drama Karpūramanjari was enacted. Gangādevi, the author of *Kamparāyacharita*, is well known to the lovers of Sanskrit literature.

A stray verse attributed to Dhanada-deva in *Sārangadhara Paddhati* mentions four poetesses Śilā, Vijjā, Mārulā and Morikā. Verses attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Sūktimuktāvaḷi* praise four poetesses Silabhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, Vijayānkā and Prabhudevi. The identity, life-history and works

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[1] Pp. 20, 46, 57 of *Kāvyamīmāmsa.*

of the above have still to be disclosed by research. The object of the present paper is merely to glean the available material about Vijjikā.

Many authors in Sanskrit are known to us by name only, stray verses attributed to them being found in Sanskrit anthologies or in the Kaviprasastis of well-known kāvyas and dramas. Bhāsa was to us merely a name till 1910 when the Trivandrum plays were discovered and published. The *Subhāṣitāvaḷi* of Vallabhadeva (15th cent. A.D.) attributes six verses to Vijjikā, the authoress (Nos. 158, 1141, 1523, 2090, 1175 and 3138 of the collection).

No.
158. कवेरभिप्रायमशब्दगोचरं....
1140. गते प्रेमाबंधे
1175. नार्याः सा रतिशून्यता
1523. कोषः स्फीततरः
2090. उन्नमय्य····
3138. विरम विफलायासात्····

Aufrecht quotes the fourth and fifth verses as belonging to Vijjikā and gives some more verses from *Sārangadhara Paddhati*.

1. किंशुक कलिकांतर्गत····
2. केनात्र चंपकतरो....
3. दृष्टिं हे प्रतिवेशिनि····
4. धन्यासि या कथयसि····
5. नीलोत्पल दळश्यामां····
6. माद्या····
7. विलासमसृणोल्लस

Some of these verses are quoted in the *Daśarūpaka*, *Abhidhāvrittimātṛka* of Mukulabhatta, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Śabdavyāpāravicāra* and *Kavīndrakaṇṭhābharaṇa*. But in none of these works the name of the authoress is disclosed nor the names of the works she is said to have composed. Even the name of the authoress is not free from doubt. We have already seen that Dhanada-deva refers to

her as Vijjā merely. The *Subhāṣitāvaḷi* refers to her as Vijjakā or Vijjikā. Vidyā and Vidyakā[2] are not also found wanting.

Daṅḍin in his invocatory verse of *Kāvyādarśa* praises Sarasvatī as सर्वशुक्ला and a verse of Vijjikā takes Daṅḍin to task for such a description. The authoress calling herself an incarnation of Sarasvatī says that he ought to have described her as नीलोत्पलदळश्यामा. This verse has been quoted by Aufrecht from *Sārangadhara Paddhati*. The name of the authoress is here given as Vijjikā. The same verse finds a place in *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādharabhatta, a manuscript of which is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. An analysis of the work is given in Vol. XII, p. 399 of the *Annals of the Institute*. The name given is Vijjikā. We can fairly presume that Vijjā, Vijjikā and Vijjakā refer to the same authoress.

None of her works are referred to in the anthologies but a drama called *Kaumudi Mahotsava* has recently been published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., in the *Andhra Historical Research Society Journal*. The letters mentioning the name of the author were worm-eaten and only कया were legible. The rest of the name was guessed as विज्जि. I have elsewhere discussed the authorship of the drama and its probable date in my article on 'Kaumudi Mahotsava and Gupta History' (*Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 139). From the internal evidences of the drama, it would appear that the author (or authoress) has liberally drawn from the works of Kāḷidāsa and Bhāravi in point of diction and the date (500-700 A.D.) assigned to it by the editor is reasonable. The word 'Sambandha' in the drama, the discovery of the manuscript in Malabar, and the reference to God Anantanārāyaṇa do not necessarily point to a South Indian origin and no material is forthcoming to verify whether Vijjikā wrote the drama.

The verse in praise of Vijayā by Rājaśekhara quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvaḷi* is significant in this connection.

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[2] *Vide Saduktikarṇāmṛta.*

सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी वजयांका जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः काळिदासादनंतरं ॥

The authoress Vijayā has been compared to Sarasvatī (*cf.* her own assertion in नीलोत्पलदळश्यामा), is called a karṇāṭī and seems to have written in the Vaidarbhi style after Kāḷidāsa. If the identification of Vijjikā with Vijayānkā is correct, this would ascribe to the authoress a post-Kāḷidāsan era and South Indian origin. Prof. Kane, in his introduction to the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, concludes that Vijayā or Vijayānkā are identical with Vijjikā or Vijayabhaṭṭārakā and that she was the queen of Chandrāditya, eldest son of Pulakesin II (660 A.D.). The Nerur and Kochreni plates of this queen have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[3] These refer to Vijayamahādevī or Vijayabhaṭṭārakā, the queen consort of Chandrāditya, brother of Vikramāditya I of the Western Chalukyan dynasty, but it is not possible to identify her with Vijjikā in the present state of our knowledge. It is earnestly hoped that further research will reveal the identity of Vijjikā and the works she composed.

[3] *Vide* Vol. VII, p. 163; Vol. VIII, p. 45.

IS THE ADVAITA OF ŚANKARA BUDDHISM IN DISGUISE?

BY G. V. BUDHAKAR, B.A. (HONS.)

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 18*)

Now let us deal with the third question. It is very difficult to point out Śankara's share separately from that of his predecessors. His mighty genius must have introduced some minor details in giving a realistic and finishing touch to his idealism with sane and convincing refutation of diverse criticism. But that does not affect the main thought in the least. The philosophical struggle of almost all the schools was going on for more than a thousand years at least. Every school was systematising its position against that of its opponents. All of them depended upon their ancient authorities and works. Upaniṣadic absolutism was one of them. It ought·to have its ancient parentage, as we have shown above, to maintain its position. To deny this is to set aside the hoary antiquity and historicity of the Upaniṣads and the absolutism that was based on them. This denial of its traditional history will lead to historical suicide.

Thus we come to the fourth question. Did Advaitic dialectic owe its origin to dissenting and heterodox schools? In other words, "Was the Advaita as metaphysically systematised more ancient than Buddhism? Did Gauḍapāda and Śankara being under the influence of Buddhism—as some would hold—introduce it?" We have already spoken of the existence of the ancient Advaitic literature. We shall now deal with it from a different standpoint and from other sources.

In the Upaniṣads, we find great dialectical discussions. Yājñavalkya, the champion of absolutism, lays down the necessity of dialectic side by side with spiritual discipline and scriptural study:—आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः बृ. आ. उ., 4. 5. 6. The word वाकोवाक्यम् (छां. उ., 7. 1. 2) occurs in this sense. Śankara understands it as तर्कशास्त्रम्. मीमांसां कृ

is used in the same way. Śankara interprets it as विचारणां कृ (छां. उ., 11. 1). The word तर्क conveys the same meaning (पारस्कर गृ. सू. 2. 6. 5). It occurs again in the Dharma-sūtra of Gautama 8.6, which, according to Bühler, is pre-Buddhistic and the oldest among the Dharma-sūtras. In it the word "वाको-वाक्य" occurs along with इतिहासपुराणं and धर्मशास्त्रं. The same work refers to the works and authorities on these subjects. It, therefore, must have known the works on वाकोवाक्य which can guide a student in his philosophical study. The particular quotation is, "वाको-वाक्येतिहास-पुराण-कुशलः" गौ. ध. सू. 8. 6. Further in the eleventh chapter there is the word "आन्वीक्षिकी" in the sūtra, "त्रय्यामान्वीक्षिक्यां चाभिविनीतः" गौ. ध. सू. 11. 4. Haradatta and Maskari explain it as न्यायविद्या (logic) or आत्मविद्या (metaphysics). Manu (7. 43) enumerates them separately as "आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां". Kauṭilya, in his *Artha-śāstra* (Vidyāsamuddesha, ch. 1), first mentions it as a common appellation for all the Vedic schools of philosophy, "सांख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेति आन्वीक्षिकी" and then refers to it separately extolling its excellence and utility in life as "प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानां······". Both Śukra and Kāmandaka agree in making no difference between metaphysics and dialectic as helpful to one another. The former says, "आन्वीक्षिक्यां तर्कशास्त्रं वेदान्ताद्यं प्रतिष्ठितम्" शु. नी. 1. 153; while the latter maintains, "आन्वीक्षिक्यामात्मविज्ञानम्" का. नी. सा. 2. 2. Medhātithi, while commenting on the above passage of Manu, follows this double implication of the word. The Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra, which is far removed from the influence of even early Buddhism* speaks of "न्यायविद्". This word refers to those who decided the points on rituals and philosophy "आध्यात्मिकान्योगाननुतिष्ठेत् न्यायसंहितान्" आ. ध. सू. 1. 22. 1. Here the word न्यायसंहितान् is interpreted as उपपत्ति समन्वितान् (*Adhyātmapatala-tīkā*, Trivandrum S. Series) which means dialectically. In the two other cases *viz.*:—न्यायवित्समयः 2. 8. 13 and न्यायविदः 2. 14. 13, it speaks of rituals,

* *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1927, Calcutta, "Āpastamba and Gautama," by B. K. Ghosh.

which are the subjects of the Pūrva-mimāmsā. The Pūrva-mimāmsā-sūtras again are famous for their logical accuracy in textual interpretations. From all these references it seems that dialectic was not considered separately from metaphysics. In the Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtras men well versed in it are called "त्रयीविद्यावृद्धाः". On the sūtra 2. 10. 57, Govindaswāmi has the following remarks:—त्रयी ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतः च यैस्समधिगता ते त्रयीवृद्धाः अप्याचार्याः मुनयः परिव्राजकाः । अन्त्याश्रम-ग्रहणात् नैष्ठिकतापसयो ग्रहणम् । Here the context as well as the remarks deal with philosophers and not with ritualists. त्रयी is here surely वेदान्त. The Mahābhārata enumerates all the Vedic and semi-Vedic systems of philosophy and calls the Vedānta as the Vedas:—

सांख्यं योगः पाञ्चरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥
अपान्तरतमश्चैव वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते ।
प्राचीनगर्भं तमृषिं प्रवदन्तीह केचन ॥ म. भा., शां. प., अ. 493.

Kauṭilya (300 B.C.) in his *Arthaśāstra* mentions other systems but does not name the Vedānta separately. But the reference to it can be understood from the words, "आन्वीक्षिकी or त्रयी" as shown just now; because as a system it is not separate. A staunch adherent of the Veda like Chāṇakya would not fail to mean it so. This is clear from his own words :—त्रयीविशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीति कौटिल्यः, कौ. अ. शा. 1. 2. In the *Dharma-Śāstra* of Śankha-Likhita the Vedānta is separately mentioned among other systems:—सांख्ययोगोपनिषद्धर्मशास्त्राध्यायी वेदपरः (p. 32, quo. 199, Kaṇe's edn.). Here the word "उपनिषत्" means the Vedānta because the *Gautama-Dharma-Sūtras* (19. 13) say:—उपनिषदो वेदान्ताः. The *Śankha-Likhita-sūtras* were composed in 200 B.C. Still some scholars will object to the Vedānta being taken as a separate system. The extracts, which we have given, suppose it as a system. Further, if one Puṣpadanta referred to by Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī* be the same as the author of the *Mahimna-stotra*, he cannot be later than 900 A.D. (p. 426, ch. 5. 2. Vijayanagaram Series). He says, "त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति."

Here the first word stands for the Vedic system of philosophy as it occurs with the other systems. It seems that the word "त्रयी" meant not only the theistic but also the absolutistic one, which Śankara represents. The verses quoted by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasangraha* (p. 173, Āna. Āś. series) as ascribed to "त्रयीविद्यावृद्धाः" are purely Advaitic in tone and illustrate the truth of the parable "व्याघ्रकुलसंवर्धितवार्ता". Haradatta on the *Āpastamba-Dharma-sūtra* 1. 22. 2 quotes them. But in both these works they are not traced to their original source. Can they be by Draviḍāchārya to whom the parable is ascribed? But as compared with all these authorities the oldest reference to absolutism is found in the Vedānta Sūtras 1. 4. 22. Here Kāśakṛtsna supports that view. His work is mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* as follows;

(1) काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी ।

(2) काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी ।

Vol. II, pp. 206, 249, 325, Bombay Sanskrit Series.

This Kāśakṛtsna is a grammarian, a commentator on the Black Yajurveda and one of the Śrauta sūtras of the White Yajurveda. As Patañjali refers to him he cannot be later than 150 B.C. Scholars like Weber and Belvalkar hold that he flourished prior to Pāṇini (p. 19, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*). Thus he cannot be later than 700 B.C., *i.e.*, even anterior to Buddha. As regards his view in the Br. Sūtras (1.4.22) it must be said that many of the Anti-Māyāvādi commentators, beginning from Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara who came after Śankara down to Vijñānabhikṣu, frankly admit that he held the same view which Śankara holds. This is again clear from Śankara's remarks on the same. We will come to it later on when we deal with Rāmānuja. The present evidence goes to prove that even prior to Pāṇini or Buddha there was a school of the Vedāntins of the type of Śankara. Along with the theists like Audulomi or Aśmarathya this was also called Upaniṣadic as the Vedānta Sūtras give both. On account of these reasons the older Buddhist and Jain works mentioned above refer to the view but not to the school. The same thing seems to be done by the Vedic works

quoted. Not only this much but even dialectic is understood to be its part and parcel (*Q.J.M.S.*, 1924, p. 197). The *Gautama-Nyāya-Sūtras* deal with logic or dialectic as well as with metaphysics. It is not the only work in its field, for the Mahābhārata refers to many such works :—

न्यायतन्त्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः ।

म. भा., शां. प., अ. 210. श्लो. 22.

This evidence is sufficient to convince any sane man that the dialectic, which goes hand in hand with metaphysics, was developed in the Vedic fold long before the advent of Buddha. This is corroborated by *Maṇimekhalai*, which says that early Buddhists followed the logic and epistemology of Vyâsa, Jaimini and Kṛtakoṭi. The first two are well-known. The third is the first commentary on the Vedânta Sūtras according to *Prapanchahṛdaya* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). It was abridged by Upavarṣa. Now there arise chronological difficulties. The dates of the oldest commentators, *viz.*, Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa, are not settled. Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Sūtras, is prior to them. Kāśakṛtsna, who preceded all these, cannot be later than 700 B.C. But if it is held that Upavarṣa was the elder contemporary of Pāṇini,* the date 200 B.C. that is assigned by modern scholars for the Vedânta Sūtras will be untenable. To return to our subject we find that the opinion of *Maṇimekhalai* is supported by Haraprasāda Śāstri who holds that all the early Buddhists from Buddha to Vasubandhu were indebted to Akshapāda for their instruments of knowledge (quoted in *Maṇimekhalai*, intro. p. 68). Besides the date of *Maṇimekhalai* is prior to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu, the early Buddhist dialecticians.

This brings us to the fifth question. We may here take a review of Buddhism and its history. When Buddha came to the religio-philosophical arena of his time some of the contending gladiators were indulging in ruthless and destructive logic, and reckless and irresponsible life. It was already an era of intellectual ferment. Sophistry and superstitious vagaries

* 700 B.C., *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, by Bhandārkar, p. 29, year 1883–1884.

were rampant. This state of things we gather from the Sâmânyaphala and Sambhiya suttas of Buddhism where 62 heresies are referred to. The *Sûtrakṛtânga* of the Jains mentions 364. It was very difficult to raise one's head for any sane view or school against such casuistry. The Vaidiks kept themselves aloof from these environments and left these people to the mercy of time. Buddha got disgusted with this unbridled intellectualism and sensualistic materialism. Through his humanitarian and purely spiritual zeal he refused to discuss his views and even threw overboard the constructive aspect of dialectic and philosophy. On account of his other-worldly and ascetical attitude he disliked any system-building either religious or secular. He brushed aside all the positive ideals in life (अभ्युदय) and emphasized the highest ascetical earnestness (निःश्रेयस) on all alike at the cost of partial and relative truths in religion which are the sole support of the imperfect understanding of the masses. His main mission was to preach, "Come, see, and get out of this wretched world, which is full of misery only." In his earnestness he completely rejected the authority of the Veda or any traditional spiritual experience. In his zeal he condemned the Vedic sages or Ṛṣis, their philosophy and rituals. Under these circumstances it is but natural that he or his followers should not accept the Veda or Upaniṣads as their religious or spiritual guide. Even where they seem to accept they read their ethical earnestness into them. But the context at times does not support them. Such an enthusiastic and one-sided ideal, however suitable it might be for a select few, cannot be welcomed by the diversity of human nature in all countries and in all times. It, therefore, evoked opposition from the Vaidikas, who through their age-long experience were convinced of the fact that the world is meant for a pleasure-seeking worldly man as well as for religious aspirants of different grades. Provision was to be made for all according to their ability so that they can reach the highest ideal slowly and gradually. To the Vaidikas the world was a mixture of pain and pleasure. It was, therefore, wise to make the best

of it without finding any fault with it. It was their experience that mere spiritual experience becomes superstitious and unsound if it is not backed up by sane thought and thorough conviction. To them religion and philosophy was a complete whole. On account of this difference of outlook and attitude towards life and religion Buddha was called a heretic by them. Buddha went so far as to be silent on many serious questions. This silence is construed by modern scholars to be due to his ignorance and prejudice. Such a view is held by the author of "Indian Logic as preserved in China and Japan" p. 29 and supported by Keith and Poussin as quoted in the "Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" p. 21. While others hold that it was due to his polite indifference or sheer madness for salvation. Whatever that be, one thing is certain and clear that he has not met metaphysicians on their own grounds.* In the case of the Vaidikas reason and ethics went hand in hand; while Buddha exalted the claims of ethics and condemned reason as immoral and futile as if all metaphysicians are necessarily impure or dishonest. On account of his spiritual dynamism he silenced many of his adversaries to submission for the time being. But the moment that mighty figure passed away his followers were divided among themselves. His attitude was curiously understood, variously interpreted and even seriously doubted. As a result of this the whole of his Monastic Order was split up into eighteen different schools. They inherited their master's metaphysical distaste. But when they saw other powerful metaphysical systems in the field they were forced to handle dialectic for negative and destructive purposes to outwit them.† With them it was not the question of making spiritual experience intelligible with the help of sane thought. On account of this and the rejection of the traditional spiritual experience or the Veda all the Buddhist philosophical schools were called heterodox by the Vaidikas. Thus there sprang up different schools in Buddhism.

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* A. Coomaraswami's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, pp. 198, 205.

† *Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*, pp. 21–25, by Kimura.

They had no metaphysical interest.* Thus they reverted to what Buddha avoided and disliked. The first stage, which was formulated by the two schools of Hīnayāna, was the primitive and realistic indifferentism with scepticism. The second was developed by the two schools of Mahāyāna. It was idealism and negativism. Its latest systematisers were Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna respectively. For our purpose, we shall deal with the two latter schools alone.

The Vijñānavāda or subjective idealism meant that what we regard as the external or objective world of difference and multiplicity is simply an internal or subjective world of our mental idea having no external objects corresponding to them. The Śūnyavāda or Nihilism meant that the world of external objects is absolutely non-existent like the barren woman's son. From these two views it can be inferred that both the schools tried to explain away the world of external objects and experience as remarked by Sogen Yamakami in his introduction to the *Tathatāvāda of Aśvaghoṣa* (systems of Buddhistic Thought). These two theories were death blows to realism or to any positive system. But against these Śankara says that the world of difference and multiplicity is unreal only from the point of view of the liberated soul, *i.e.*, Muktātmā and not from the standpoint of all embodied souls or human beings. He is neither an epistemological idealist nor nihilist. He has given the realists their due share. He observes, "येन त्वंशेन न विरुध्यते तेनेष्टमेव सांख्ययोगस्मृत्योः सावकाशत्वम्," ब्र. सू. भा. 2.1.3. Again he makes similar remarks in his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* 18, 19. He freely uses the logical terminology of the Naiyāyikas in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. He accepts the realists where they stand; but questions their absolute claims. He pushes the quest a little further and brings out the highest ideal more vividly and clearly. He stops at the ultimate spiritual realization as a true mystic and

* D. T. Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 114–115 and 340; *Studies in the Lankāvatāra Sutta*, p. 285; *Sākya or Buddhist Origins*, by Rhys Davids, 1931, p. 432.

puts it metaphysically as one Permanent Entity, *i.e.*, "ब्रह्म". Everything else then, he says, is the result of false vision. His philosophical outlook is well depicted in his life while God is conversing with Śankara in the form of a Chaṇḍāla at Benares. His biographer Vyāsāchala gives it in the following verse :—

देहभावेन तु दासोऽहं जीवबुध्या त्वदंशकः ।
आत्मबुध्या त्वमेवाहं इति मे निश्चला मतिः ॥ १ ॥

In this there are three stages of evolution. The first is realistic pluralism based on common sense experience. The second is dualism and supports unity in diversity from the psychological standpoint. The third and the last is the Absolute where he maintains that "ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या" जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः । The Buddhists from Buddha to Śāntarakṣita were not prepared to accept the permanent self. It is true that they were forced to accept the Tathatā-garbha as a substitute for the self of the Vedāntins. But that was only to attract the attention of the Thīrthikas or heretics as remarked by the *Lankāvatāra-sutta.* They are neither serious about it nor are they ready to put it metaphysically. If any such charge is brought against them they openly repudiate it. Depending on this Tathatā Aśvaghoṣa formulated his Tathatāvāda. He arrives at it mystically or psychologically but not metaphysically as the last ontological goal. He does not take the world to be relatively real. This is clear from the following extract from Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*—"by the creation of an external world *which does not exist in itself, independent of the perceiver*"—Aśvaghoṣa's *Philosophy*, p. 133. The nature of this Tathatā is obscured by Avidyā. This word as well as Māyā are common to this school as well as to the Vijñāna-vāda and Śūnyavāda. To all these three it is simply subjective illusion. The question of the relative reality and creation of the world does not appear in these three views. Buddha was unwilling to speak anything about his spiritual experience. But Aśvaghoṣa, partly because of his Brahminical influence, definitely said something about it. In doing this he

was untrue to the distinctive feature of Buddhism that there is nothing permanent. Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna, who came after him, rejected his view and explained the phenomenon as the result of mental illusion only without committing themselves to any permanent entity. Here it is necessary to note that Suzuki in his "Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism," pp. 138—139, compares anyhow the Sānkhya psychological categories with those treated in the "Awakening of Faith" of Aśvaghoṣa. But he has not touched the metaphysical categories, which the Sānkhya and Śankara in *Br. Sū. Com.* 2.3.14 accept. The Sānkhya and the Vedānta accept both the psychological and metaphysical categories.

Śankara has pointed out the difference between the Vijñānavāda and that of his view. Both Śankara and Śāntarakṣita are clear on this point so that there should not be any misunderstanding about their respective theories. The latter distinguishes it from that of the Vedānta (*Tattvasangraha*, verse 330). Śankara, whose main interest while interpreting the texts before him was purely metaphysical, could not but do scant courtesy and summarily dismiss the Śūnyavāda as averse to all philosophical systems. From this some think that he was ignorant of or misrepresented the Mādhyamikakārikas of Nāgārjuna. But against this view goes his examination of "Saṃvṛti" in the *Chhāndogya* (6. 2. 1-3). In the commentary on the *Bra. Sūt.* (2. 2. 32) he confined himself more to the implication of the wording of the sūtra than to interpret it independently. In both these places he maintains that absolute negation is impossible without the assertion of any positive entity as its counterpart; otherwise the negation itself results in doubting the doubter himself. His very existence becomes questionable. As long as any permanent entity is not maintained the world of external objects and experience can never be sublated or denied. When something new is established then alone a pre-existing substance can be denied. But the Śūnyavādins had no philosophical position to stand. They were not prepared to give any metaphysical goal. It is true that they accept some positively mystical

and spiritual end. But that is for ethical purposes only. Theirs is the ethical Absolute. Śankara's Absolute is ethico-metaphysical, *i.e.*, his Brahma and Moksha are one and the same. (ब्रह्मस्वरूपत्वान्मोक्षस्य । ब्रह्मभावश्च मोक्षः । ब्र. सू. भा. 1.1.4, pp. 17-18, Nir. Sāg. Edn. bare text.) Like the Śūnyavāda the Vijñānavāda also shirks the responsibility of explaining the phenomenon and asserts that it is simply the creation of ideas. It is subjective idealism. But the Vedānta is positive both relatively and absolutely; while the other two are evasive, negative and sceptic throughout. This makes a world of difference as far as their philosophical standpoints are concerned. The Vedānta is *absolute idealism.* The following couplet properly gives the difference between both the idealisms:—

विज्ञानवादी क्षणिकत्वमेषामङ्गीचकारापि बहुत्वमेषः ।
वेदान्तवादी स्थिरसंविदेकेत्यङ्गीचकारेति महान् विशेषः ॥

शां. दि. 16. 78.

Vidyānanda in his *Aṣṭasāhasrī* notes this, "प्रक्रियाभेद" (Nir. Sāg. Edn., p. 163). Śrī Harṣa in his ***Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya*** says that in the Vedānta negation has a positive counterpart whereas there is none in the Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda. This is in the following verse:—

सुगतब्रह्मवादिनो विशेषः यदादिमः ।
सर्वस्य मिथ्यात्वं ब्रूते द्वितीयस्तदनन्यताम् ॥

Now there is bound to be some similarity of arguments when both the absolutists and nihilists or idealists are dealing with the ultimate and idealistic problems. But the difference stands more marked as regards their standpoints and ultimate dialectic. Vedāntic dialectic is shown to be prior to Buddha as the *Sāmānyaphala* and *Lankāvatāra suttas* presuppose it. The four-cornered logic as ascribed to Nāgārjuna, can be traced back to Buddha's contemporary sophists like Sanjaya and others. Nāgārjuna and others used their destructive dialectic to demolish all positive and metaphysical conceptions. They were not prepared to give any system. This lack of system and maturity is the central defect of Buddhistic philosophical

schools as remarked by Yoshomitra in his *Abhidhamma-koṣa-vyākhyā.** "The Buddhists are by no means agreed on a number of disputed philosophical questions......." Śankara has observed the same thing with distrust and dissatisfaction in his *Br. Sūt. Com.*, 2. 2. 32.

The words "Māyā and Avidyā," which are common both to the Vedānta and Mahāyāna, have got different meanings in each. In the first they mean illusion without any absolute value. Relatively it is some positive entity depending on the Brahman. It is called, "Prāṇa" in the *Upaniṣads* (प्राणा वै सत्यं, छां. उ. 7. 17. 2 ; उप. साह्. 17. 28 ; मुं. उ. 2. 1. 3 ; मां. का. 1. 6 ; प्र. उ. 3. 3 ; क. उ. 6.2 ; इन्द्रो मायाभिः, बृ. आ. उ. 2. 5. 19 ; विश्वमाया, श्वे. उ. 1. 10 ; मायां तु प्रकृतिं, श्वे. उ. 4. 10 ; मायया सन्निरुद्धः, श्वे. उ. 4. 9). Here all those passages speak of cosmical illusion, which has no absolute value. From this standpoint they say that it does not exist (नेति नेति, बृ. आ. उ. 2. 3. 6 ; 3. 9. 26 ; 4. 5. 15 ; 4. 4. 22 ; 4. 2. 4). This illusion is psychological also (अविद्या, छां. उ. 1. 1. 10 : बृ. आ. उ. 4. 3. 20 ; 1. 4. 3 ; 1. 4. 10). Later writers restrict "माया" for the first kind of illusion and "अविद्या" for the second. But Śankara has not observed this distinction clearly. He uses both these words promiscuously. Śankara and Gauḍapāda are clear in interpreting the above passages. In the Vedānta, illusion has the double function of obscuring the real nature of the ब्रह्मन् and projecting the phenomenon (विक्षेपशक्तिर्लिङ्गादि-ब्रह्माण्डान्तं जगत्सृजेत्). Thus illusion is psycho-metaphysical, *i.e.*, both subjective and objective ; while in all the three Buddhistic schools it is simply subjective. This important difference between the two implications of Māyā of the Vedāntins and the Buddhists is intentionally or otherwise lost sight of by many. There are other phrases and words, which Gauḍapāda uses in his work. They are alleged to be Buddhistic in origin ; because the works like the *Lankāvatāra sutta* and *Mādhyamika-Kārikas* use them. That both the Vedāntins and Buddhists use them is not a sufficient proof to

* G. K. Nariman's *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 282.

assert that they were the special property of the Buddhists alone. As we have just now traced the two words to their original source, so can the word "अलातचक्रम्" be found in the *Maitrāyaniya Upaniṣad* (6. 24), which according to Tilak and others is not later than 1880 B.C. (*Gītā-rahasya* 3rd edn. p. 547). After these Upaniṣads some school like that of Yājñyavalkya or Kāśakṛtsna must have developed them. Śankara and Gauḍapāda, who owed direct allegiance to such a school have freely made use of such idealogy and phraseology as seen from the history of the Vedānta, traced above prior to Śankara. The Buddhists like Nāgārjuna and others have used such words and ideas to suit their negative and sceptic purposes. We have shown above that all early Buddhists followed the logic and epistemology of the Vaidikas. The Buddhists, therefore, felt no scruples to use these or similar phrases provided they adhered to their standpoint without committing themselves to any metaphysical position. But one fact is clear that the Vedāntins never lost sight of their absolutism and the Buddhists have ever tried to demolish the Ātmavāda. About these common ideas and phrases scholars like Stcherbatsky (*The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 51), Poussin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 128, Buddhist notes), and Keith (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 476) hold the same opinion as we have sketched above. But Jacobi (*J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 33, 1913), Barnett (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910), and Sukthankar (*W.Z.K.M.*, Vol. 22, p. 136) take a different view. They hold that there was an absolute blank between the Upaniṣads and Śankara and that the Advaita came into existence on account of the reaction against the Buddhists during the seventh century A.D. or due to Śankara's being brought up and trained in Buddhistic circles. We have given sufficient evidence to prove that such a view is untenable. They opine that the Buddhists introduced this negative phraseology and idealogy for the first time. It was exploited by Gauḍapāda and Śankara to make some kind of halting compromise with them. Unless they trace the history of these terms and phrases in non-Buddhistic circles they cannot safely dogmatise over this point. We cannot hold Śankara responsible

for misrepresenting the terms while commenting on them. Śankara was forced to interpret as the author meant. He himself observes:—

अतो मिथ्यादर्शनानि तानीति तद्युक्तिभिरेव दर्शयित्वा । मां. का. भा. 4. 87.

तदुपपत्तिभिरेव निराकरणाय चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् । p. 8, Āna. Ās. Series, मा. का. भा.

That the commentary on the work is from the pen of Śankara is clear. Ānandagiri's gloss while explaining the second, introductory verse presupposes three glosses, which commented upon the commentary of Śankara. Ānandagiri gives their references thus:—

(*a*) केचित्तु प्रकरणचतुष्टयात्मनो ग्रन्थस्य वेदान्तैकदेशसंबंधत्वज्ञापनार्थं . . ।

(*b*) अन्ये त्वाद्यश्लोकं मूलश्लोकान्तर्भूतमभ्युपगच्छन्तो . . . . ।

(*c*) अपरे पुनराद्येन श्लोकेन . . . . ।

These three quotations prove that the fourth chapter belongs to the author who also wrote the first three chapters. He is Gauḍapāda himself. This conclusion is supported by the references to him which Sureśvara makes in his works, *viz.*, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि and बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक. In the former work he figures in 4.41-42. In the latter work he refers to him and his work in the following places:—1. 2. 27; 1. 4. 389; 1. 4. 615; 1. 4. 712; 1. 4. 741; 2. 1. 2; 2. 1. 385; 4. 4. 886-888. That the commentary on this work together with the introductory verses is by Śankara himself, we have no reason to doubt. Gauḍapāda, taking his stand on the Brahmādvaita of the Upaniṣads, demonstrated logically that there is the highest mystical goal, which is metaphysical as well. If he has met the nihilists on their own ground, especially in the fourth chapter, it is not unnatural to expect some of their terms and ideas being parodied. But as long as the Advaitic literature prior to Śankara or Gauḍapāda has not come to light we cannot emphatically maintain that the Vedānta had not such or similar negative phrases and ideas. Besides we have shown that *Sūtasamhitā* and *Bhāgavata* which are prior to Śankara contain such terminology. This takes us

to the standpoint of Gauḍapāda. We shall now see if it differs from the Vedānta of Śankara.

In the four chapters, Gauḍapāda following the teaching of the Upaniṣads establishes the Ātmavāda as the only and Absolute Reality. Thus he establishes his positive Absolute against the sceptic negativism of the nihilists. As he was mainly busy with this, he paid little attention to the phenomenon though he did not lose sight of it or reject it. He accepted its relative reality. His positive Absolute, which is the highest experience of a mystic, is described in the following verses. He calls it ब्रह्म 3. 46, (स्थिरं) ज्ञानं 3. 38, अद्वैतं 3. 18, परं ब्रह्म or प्रणव 1. 26 and 3. 12, (स्थिर) विज्ञानवाद 4. 45 and 48 as opposed to (अस्थिर), विज्ञानवाद of the Buddhists in 4. 99, ब्राह्मण्यं पदं 4. 85, अभयं पदं 4. 78, भगवान् 4. 82 and 84, and समाधि the mystic height in 3. 37. Here there is nothing except that, " Pure Isness ", call it in any way (अस्ति तावत्स्वयं नाम ज्ञानं वात्मान्यदेव वा। उप. साह. 16. 31) as Śankara observes. Here there is no question of dualism, causation and creation. He refers to this in 4. 71, 3. 48, 1. 17, 2. 31, 1. 7-9, 4. 4-5, 2. 19, 4. 58 where he observes that there is no " Māyā " at all. In this case, he admits that this Ajātivāda in 3. 26 is nothing but the same thing as the Neti-neti-vāda of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. But when one comes down from this mystical and metaphysical height there is the world of multiplicity and empiricism, where causation and creation are possible. He states this in 4. 56, 4. 42, 2. 29, 3. 15. He accepts that Māyā is relatively some positive entity, *i.e.*, प्राण in 1. 16. It is not independent of the Brahman. In giving these facts he frankly admits that he was reasserting the Upaniṣadic view. In support of this statement he often refers to the passages from the Upaniṣads in 2. 3, 3. 11-15 and 3. 24-26. He mentions some of his predecessors also in 2. 12 and 2. 31. Śankara deals with this double standpoint in the same way. In his *Tai. Up. Com.* 2. 6; *Bṛ. Com.* 4. 4-25, 1. 4-7, 2. 1-10; *Mānd. Com.* 3. 15; *Ait. Com.* 2 intro., he speaks nothing short of the Ajātivāda. Here there is सत् ब्रह्म only. But from the second standpoint the

question of creation is to be falsely ascribed to "It" through the instrumentality of Māyā as Śankara says "मायामयकार्यताम्" उप. सा. 8. 2. Here he takes the world to be relatively real and accepts the dualism of subject and object in the same work: (19. 4) स एव चात्मा जगतश्च नः. Under these circumstances, he introduces the question of creation and causation in उप. साह. 9. 1-3; *Ait. Up. Com.* 1. 2, 2 intro; *Br. Com.* 1. 2. 1, 1. 2-4; *Chhan. Com.* 6. 2-3; and *Br. Sut. Com.* 2. 3. 14. Generally he follows the order given in the *Tai. Upaniṣad* as regards creation. From this it will be clear thet there is no difference between Gauḍapāda and Śankara. Gauḍapāda lays down the proposition in the first chapter. In the second he refutes all the dualistic objections brought against it. In the third he answers all the logical objections raised against it. In the last he examines the Buddhist subjective idealists and nihilists on their own ground and proves his proposition. Thus he has strengthened the position of the Brahmādvaita of the Upaniṣads.

When we come to Śankara we find that he has not only treated the Absolute with great emphasis but he has equally busied himself with the empirical world. This marked difference is due to his position although the material he handled or the standpoint he had was one and the same like Gauḍapāda. Gauḍapāda was an individual philosopher who reasserted his philosophical tradition. Śankara was more a leader or Āchārya of a new sect meant for socio-religious purposes. Śankara was thus bound to pay equal attention to lower as well as higher ideals and to face and answer all adverse and irresponsible criticisms. He attempted this Herculean task quite successfully. His realistic, synthetical and eclectic genius has given us the grand and graded religious staircase ascending the steps of which one can realize the Brahman. Śankara himself admits that he inherits hoary historicity and past experience in his attempts in the following quotation :—

"तत्र अद्वैतदर्शनं न संप्रदायकर्तुः." मां. का. भा. 4. 1.

We have so far answered the questions which we raised at the beginning. The Buddhists from the *Lankāvatāra sutta* to Śāntarakṣita have been clearly stating their view as quite different from that of the Vedāntins, who are even criticised. The Vedāntins, on the other hand, from Gauḍapāda to Madhusūdana Sarasvati have spared no pains to distinguish their standpoint from that of the two schools of the Mahāyāna. Here it may not be out of place to give in short the main points of difference between the Vedānta and two Buddhistic schools. These are quoted from *Vedānta Vindicated*, where they run thus:—

"There has been no compromise whatever between them; for Advaita has nothing common with Buddhism; it is war to the knife between them.

(i) Advaita did not borrow from Buddhism its idealism, since Advaita has rejected it unconditionally.

(ii) Nor did Advaita borrow its psychology, since the Buddhists deny the existence of the soul.

(iii) Nor the doctrine of illusion, since the Advaita's Māyā is altogether a different thing.

(iv) Nor the doctrine of the relative reality of the world, since the Buddhists hold the world to be mere illusion.

(v) Lastly, not even the Buddhistic Nirvāṇa, since the Advaita's Samādhi consists in the attainment of the identity with Brahman, and thereby of the consciousness of oneself and of all things; while the Buddhistic Nirvāṇa consists in losing consciousness of oneself and of everything.

Wherefore, it is evident that, not only Advaita did not absorb Buddhism, but is its greatest foe. Advaita has had the merit of impugning and refuting many gross errors of Buddhism." Pp. 142-43.

Who then levels this charge of being pseudo-Buddhists against the Vedāntins? There is an interested third party that has manufactured this charge. We shall deal with it in the second part of this essay.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLIV

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Hottentot Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the African Heron's Curved Neck.]

THE Hottentots belong to a South African race who formerly occupied the region near the Cape. They are on a low plane of culture and possess an interesting mass of folklore. They narrate various folktales among which is the following:—

A dove lived on the top of a rock and reared his young ones there. One day a jackal came and demanded one of the dove's young ones. But the dove refused to give it to him. But the jackal said: "I shall fly up to the rock and take the young one from you." So the dove gave it to the jackal. The next day the jackal came and demanded another young one from the same. So the dove gave it to him. Next the heron came and asked the dove why he was weeping. The dove said that the jackal had taken away his young ones by threatening to fly up to the rock. The heron said that he (dove) was a fool to believe that the jackal could fly. He told the dove not to give any more of the young ones to the jackal. Next time when the jackal came and asked for one of the dove's young ones the dove refused to give it to him saying that the heron had told him not to give it, as the jackal could not fly. Thereupon the jackal said: "I shall catch the heron and punish him." So saying he went to the bank of a river and seeing the bird there, asked: "O heron, how do you stand the winds when they come?" The heron replied, "I stand them by bending my neck to the side." "How do you stand the storm and the rain when they come?" asked the jackal. The heron replied: "I do stand them by bending down my neck." When the heron had bent down his

neck, the jackal bit it and broke it into two. Since then the heron's neck has been bent.*

The scientific name of the African heron is not known to me.

But from a study of the foregoing myth we find that:—

(*a*) The Hottentots though on a low plane of culture, were keen observers of the physical peculiarities of birds.

(*b*) They observed the bent neck of the heron and being ignorant of the anatomical peculiarities of this bird, were unable to explain the causes which had led to the curved formation of this bird's neck. So they invented this myth to account for its formation.

(*c*) The Hottentots are also aware that the jackal is a wily and cunning beast. They have therefore represented this beast as threatening to fly up to the rock and take the dove's young ones by force.

(*d*) With the Hottentots also the dove is an emblem of innocence and simplicity and is therefore easily deceived by the jackal.

(*e*) The heron represents the type of benevolence. He therefore convinces the dove of the jackal's falsehood and thereby saves the dove's young ones but he himself at last is deceived by the treachery of the jackal who gives his neck a twist which breaks it into two.

(*f*) The Hottentot myth-maker has not done poetic justice as he has represented the jackal as gaining the victory by means of his treachery.

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* *Vide* The Folk Tale entitled "The Dove and the Heron" in *Folk Tales of All Nations.* Edited by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 35-36.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Malagasy Didactic Myth about the Rice Plant and the Sugarcane.]

MADAGASCAR is a large island in the Indian Ocean, off the coast of Africa, from which it is separated by the Mozambique channel. The population of the island consists of three tribes, namely, (1) the Hovas (by far the most numerous), (2) the Betsimasarakas, and (3) the Sakalavas. Malagasy is the name generally given to the entire population. They exhibit many Malay characteristics, and in their language are many Malay words. There people narrate many interesting folktales, among which is included the following plant-myth :—

The Rice and the Sugarcane

Once upon a time a sugarcane proposed to enter into friendship with the rice plant, saying : "We are both produce of the ground. We are similar in life and similar in death." But the rice plant said : "We rice-plants always remain the same ; while you sugarcane change in the end into something mischievous. From our being planted in the ground, up to our growing into ears, on being harvested and threshed and finally upon being cooked in the boiling pot, we always remain the same even as we were before. But you sugarcane are lastly pressed in the sugarcane press, your juice is extracted, which is boiled into treacle. This treacle is finally converted into rum which is even drunk by men and which makes them foolish. So you are no longer sugarcane. I cannot, therefore, enter into friendship with you."*

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(*a*) Rice appears to be the staple food of the Malagasies. Rice is the most important crop in Madagascar especially in the central highlands and the east, some of it being exported.

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* *Vide Folk Tales of All Nations*, by F. H. Lee. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1931, pp. 718-19.

Near the coast it is very easy to grow, but elsewhere the grain is sown on artificial terraces, which have to be irrigated. No ploughs are used, the ground being dug up by means of long-handled, narrow-bladed spades. The Madagascar native, who is known as a Malagasy, threshes rice in the same way as the Filipinos, and the women pound the husks from the grain in wooden mortars.

(*b*) The Malagasies have many curious prohibitions which they call "*fady*" and which are very like the Polynesian "*fapus*". For instance, Sihanaka women may not eat rice on certain days; in one town of Imerina province it is *fady* for women to eat rice at all; in another place the unfortunate people may grow nothing else.*

(*c*) The Malagasies also appear to cultivate the sugarcane, from which they manufacture treacle and rum.

(*d*) The Malagasies also appear to be wine-bibbers for they appear, from the evidence of this myth, to partake of rum largely.

(*e*) To the Malagasy, the rice is the emblem of constancy, because after being husked, it is at once cooked into rice, while the sugarcane is the emblem of inconstancy, fickleness and wickedness, because after its juice has been extracted, it is made into treacle, then into rum which, when drunk, befuddles men's brains.

(*f*) This myth inculcates a great didactic truth, or moral lesson which is to the effect that men who are constant should not enter into friendship with fickle-minded and wicked persons.

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* *Vide Children's Colour Book of Lands and Peoples.* London, Vol. II, p. 835.

NOTES

Where to Seek and How to Worship God?

THERE are three chief systems or modes of divine service: First is the fire worship or sacrifice in which the deity is propitiated through the medium of fire to which are addressed the prayers and offerings, intended for the gods. Agni (fire) is conceived as the visible form of the Supreme God or the mouth of all gods. The funeral ceremony of cremation is a sacrifice. Second is the realization of the Supreme God as existing in ourselves as our souls, and thereby the fundamental unity of all living beings in essence. This sense of brotherhood is to be the guiding principle of our conduct towards fellow-creatures. Third is idolatry in which the deity is represented by its images (or statues) consecrated by the ordained priests according to the Āgamic or Tāntric rules and with the rites prescribed in such works. These idols are accommodated and worshipped in the temples or shrines constructed therefor.

Of the three forms above referred to the second is the highest, purest and most effective leading to direct contact or communion with the Supreme God without the intervention of any medium, fire or image or any other symbol as will be explained below. Life is the divine principle or essence and all its forms are divine manifestations to be treated alike with respect, sympathy, love and kindness. This is the first principle and the highest form of divine service. But life is met with in various stages of development—from the small cellular or simple organisms to the highly complex or advanced human bodies which are classified or graded according to their structural, functional and spiritual advancement; and the higher the stage or grade of the bodily development, the holier is the life or soul within; and out of these, the

N.B.—The arguments and conclusions set forth here are based on certain contexts in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which, to mention them expressly, are three in number; *viz.*, (1) Prthu-Adiraja's public address (IV, 21); (2) Rshabhadeva's open advice to his sons in a public assembly (V, 5); and (3) The philosophical and ethical dialogue between King Yudhishtira and Sage Narada (VII, 14-34-40).

man of highest qualifications and merits—purity of heart, self-discipline and control, learning, culture, wisdom, etc., etc. (*viz.*, the Brahmin as the Hindu would call him)—is selected as the most appropriate object of worship and service; and it is even said that a well-prepared cake put into his mouth (served to him) will be more pleasing to the God than the same put into the sacrificial fire that is not sentient and has no life or soul. Here, it will be noted, that the application of the principle of equality and universal brotherhood has been made discriminative (*Bh. P.*, IV, 21-40, and V, 5-23). In the keen struggle for existence and competition for self-preservation, mutual rivalry, conflict and destruction constitutes the law of life. There again, vegetable and animal food is required for the maintenance of life, and further, the guilty has to be punished. For these and other reasons some discriminations and exceptions have to be made in the practical application of the principle of unity of life and brotherhood. Yet, fellow-feeling and philanthropy should be our motto or rule of conduct, and to do what is good to all will please our God also. Thus ethics and religion are amalgamated.

What then are the origin and *raison d'être* of idol worship which, in fact, is the worship of a lifeless figure consecrated? The common sense view or answer would be that it is analogous to the reverence shown to a memorial statue raised and maintained in honour of a hero or 'Superman', living or dead, which, as everything else in India, is regulated by the religious sanctions. But the Sage Narada explains it thus. The living beings who are the real objects of worship or divine service, having become corrupt by mutual rivalry, jealousy, disrespect and hatred, had ceased to be so and consequently an idol or figure was substituted therefor from the beginning of the second of the four great ages (Treta), but the true religious sentiment or piety is the devotion or service that is based on, and prompted by, the sympathetic regard for others, fellow-feeling and a sense of universal brotherhood without which the temple or idol worship is utterly useless. It will fetch no good to the man who hates his brethren or fellow-creatures (*Bh.P.*, VII, 14-36-40).

The old Vedic or Āryan Fire worship, too, according to the Western scholars' interpretation was in essence the exaltation and adoration of the life principle as may be seen from the following lengthy quotation from Ragozin's *Vedic India* (pp. 434-39) :—

" From these it must have become clear long ago that the whole naturalism of the Rig-Veda, its entire conception of the universe and its working, hinges on two sets of natural phenomena : those of Light (Heat is included though not specially mentioned till late) and of Moisture, embodied in Agni and Soma. And we cannot perceive or comprehend Agni's real nature so long as we persist in narrowing it down to the conception of Fire—one form of him only, and not the most divine. Agni is Light—the light which fills and pervades Space—which has its highest abode in that eternal mysterious world above the heavens, beyond space itself, where are the hidden sources of all things—the Sanctuary, the Navel of the universe, where Day and Night themselves, the unequal, ever separated sisters, meet and kiss (I, 185, 5). From this supernal world Agni descends and manifests himself. He is " born " or " found " in the heavens as the Sun, in the atmosphere as Lightning, on earth as Fire. These are his three visible Bodies or 'forms'. But he invisibly pervades, he is hidden in, all things. In the plants—or how could he be brought forth out of them ? In the waters—for out of the heavenly ocean the lightning flashes, and with the rain he descends into the earth, thence mounts into the trees and herbs as sap, and lies concealed in them until brought forth by design or accident. In animals and men—for what but his divine presence accounts for the warmth in their bodies ? And that warmth is Life, for when it leaves the body life goes. Soma himself is only Agni's other self, the liquid form of him, the hidden principle of life which makes of the moisture that pervades all nature, the invigorating *amrita*, the Drink of Immortality which keeps her forces living and ever young. As to the earthly Soma, the fermented and intoxicating sacrificial beverage, Agni's divine presence is trebly manifested in it : by the flame which the alcoholic liquid emits and feeds ; by the heat it diffuses through the veins of the partakers ; by the

exhilaration, the fervid enthusiasm, nay, the inspiration which seizes those who have tasted it, and makes them feel in direct communion with the God, makes them say that the God has entered into them and they have become as Gods. In the form of Soma it is Agni whom the worshipper receives into himself, for the two are one. It is Soma who, from his bright bowl, the Moon, dispenses the gentle dews that feed the plants, but hidden in the dews—as in the rain, as in the clouds—Agni descends, for he is the Child of the Waters. Thus the ancient Āryas not only preceded the early Greek schools of philosophy in constructing a theory of the world, but greatly surpassed them in wisdom; since, while some of the Greeks declared water to be the elementary principle of the world, and others Fire, the Vedic Āryans, by a marvel of intuition, had, ages before, reached the perception that only in the union of both—of Heat and Moisture—lies the universal life-giving principle."

* * * * *

".Agni then—Light-and-Heat—is the Divine pre-existing and self-existing one who (when manifested) fills and pervades the worlds, abides in and contains all things.

In this way, in this sense, were the Āryas of India Fire-worshippers."

The conclusion may be briefly stated thus, the individual life or soul is but a spark of the self-luminous universal Soul, the God, to be sought and seen within the Sanctuary of the heart of every living being.

"ततो अजस्त्वं हृदये हृदीश्वरम् ॥"

(*Bh.P.*, VII, 7-37.)

K. RĀMAVARMA RAJA.

REVIEWS

By Indra's Aid

BY FRANK R. SELL, M.A.

(*The Bangalore Press. Price Rs. 1-4-0.*)

GLIMPSES of Vedic life, particularly with reference to social, economic and political life, of the early Āryan are a sealed book to most of us. Principal Sell has rendered a distinct service in publishing this book in which he narrates a simple story of two brothers who, rendered homeless by a disastrous flood, seek service with a king of the Bharata tribe, depicting the life of the Vedic Āryans, their social activities, their domestic routine and their religious customs and ceremonies, in a clear and terse way. We are captivated by the thrilling adventures and hair-breadth escapes as much as by the vivid pictures of domestic life given to us.

While the book is admirably suited for use in Secondary Schools and Intermediate Colleges of Universities as a text-book, it is also very instructive to the general reader. Mr. Sell gives scholarly notes on the various passages in the Ṛgveda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras from which he has drawn his plot, while his notes on the caste system and on the nature and theory of the Vedic sacrifice which take into account the latest archæological discoveries in the Indus Valley are of absorbing interest. We congratulate the author on this fine blending of history, religion and tradition with fiction. The Bangalore Press are responsible for the excellent get-up of the book.

S. S.

The Unadi-Sutras, Part I

(*Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 7 ; edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., 1933, pp. xii+236. Price Rs. 3.*)

THIS is the first of the seven parts of the Uṇādi-Sūtras in various recensions published by the Madras University. In this volume, the

original text of the Uṇādi-Sūtras is accompanied by a running commentary (vṛitti) in Sanskrit, simple and lucid in style, by one Śvetavanavāsin said to have lived not later than the sixteenth century A.D. The sūtras, the authorship of which is ascribed to Śākaṭāyana, aim at an explanation of certain word formations which do not fall within the scope of the *Kṛdanta-prakriyā* of Pāṇini. The *Kṛt* suffixes as formulated by Pāṇini display technical perfection inasmuch as their operation, morphological or semantic, on whatever word directed, is definitely fixed. The nature of the *uṇādi* suffixes on the other hand is not determined ; their action varies word to word. Thus the application of the one class of suffixes may, in essence, be described as *a priori* and of the other *a posteriori*. Compare

परमार्थतः प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रत्ययार्थो वा नास्ति । p. 2;

also,

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ p. 175.

Towards the end of the work there is a fanciful explanation of the Sanskrit alphabet. The editor has reserved the last of the seven parts of the work for a critical study of the Uṇādi literature. There is no doubt that the publication will be of great help to all students of philology.

V. T. T.

Ṛgveda-Samhita

PART I, AUGUST 1933

(*Indian Research Institute Publications: Vedic Series. Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 55, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Inland price Rs. 1-8-0 ; foreign price 2s. 6d.*)

NEARLY fifty years after the first complete edition of the Ṛgveda by Max Müller is to be welcomed this fresh attempt to bring out 'a unique world-edition of the Vedas' in the first part of a series of fascicules, by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. Appropriately for this effort, Rabindranath Tagore makes an inspiring appeal for "sober judgment, careful scholarship and a disciplined

faith in the potency of truths" in trying to rescue the spiritual heritage of India 'in its pure and primal form'.

The plan of the work is to present, on the one hand, the *samhitā* and *pada pāṭhas* of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, with occasional, brief, editorial notes and on the other, to present, in the light of recent researches, translations into English, Bengali and Hindi. The Sanskrit portion is edited by M. M. Pandit Sitarama Sastri of the Calcutta University, the English translation by Dr. Sitanatha Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Bṛhaspati, the Bengali by Sri Swami Vasudevananda and the Hindi by Pandits Devananda Jha, Vedaratna and Ayodhya Prasad, B.A. In the Sanskrit preface, the learned editor discusses, *inter alia*, the age of the Veda, its compilation and authorship, its *śākhās*, its pantheon and so on ; and while he is not unmindful of the opinions held by Western scholars about these questions, he endeavours to review them from the orthodox standpoint. As the financial aspect of the undertaking is placed in the hands of an influential committee of management with Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari as President, it is hoped that this onerous task will be completed within the estimated period of five years.

In view, however, of the standard of perfection aimed at for this important publication, it has to be observed that the first part, on the whole, seems to have been hurried through : there are too many misprints for a standard work and the explanation given is not very satisfactory. The critical notes on variant readings ought to be printed along with the Sanskrit text, preferably in the form of footnotes. While the Sanskrit gloss comprises the editor's own comments as well as extracts from commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Venkaṭamādhava, it is not possible to distinguish them, and the section which deals with the English translation with critical notes may usefully incorporate the results of Vedic scholarship regarding metre and comparative philology.

H. L. H.

EDITORIAL

WE greatly deplore the sudden demise of **Mr. K. H. Ramayya** a short while ago. He returned from an extended tour in Europe as we thought in the best of spirits and health; and in his death we have lost not merely a loyal and patriotic servant of the State but a most useful public citizen.

***

In his annual address delivered to the Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour-Sewell, discussing "The Problem of Evolution" (reproduced in the *J.A.S.B.*, October 1933) differs from the view of Wardlaw that we have in man the most perfect adaptation to environment shown by any form of life. He postulates that man has, or in the near future will have, rendered himself independent of his environment which will no longer be able to affect his physical character, any further evolution being the result of his own mental processes.

***

In the *J.A.S.B.*, June 1933, are found a number of articles of ethnographic interest, bearing on the social and religious ceremonies of (i) the Chākmās, a tribe of the hilly districts of Chittagong and Tipperah in Bengal by P. C. Basu, (ii) the Kharias of the Mayurbhunj State in Orissa by B. K. Chatterjee, (iii) wild men in Assam by J. H. Hutton, (iv) wild people of the Santals by P. O. Bodding, and (v) a note on the worship of a deity in Jalpaiguri by S. C. Mitra.

***

In an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* for August 1933 Mr. K. A. Krishnaswami Aiyar makes out a case for Vedic support for non-dualism and attempts to show that both affirmatively and negatively the Vedas inculcate the truth of non-dualism. In his view, to say that the Vedas teach dualism is to bring them down to the level of other revelations and so long as no text can be put forward which clearly and expressly states that dualism alone

is true and that non-dualism is untrue, so long as there is no positive and negative support in the Vedas for dualism as the final truth, as in the case for monism, there is every justification to affirm that non-dualism alone is the teaching of the Vedas.

***

The *Modern Review* for September contains a short study of the battle of Panipat. The author Mr. Sardesai contradicts the general notion that the battle gave a final blow to the power of the Mahrattas. Notwithstanding the heavy loss in man-power on that occasion, there arose, soon after, a younger generation which quickly replaced the loss. Besides, to the Afghans it was a Phyrric victory. Actually, the battle of Panipat hastened and contributed towards the growth of the British power in India, by enabling Clive to obtain the Diwani of Bengal four years later.

***

Viṣṇusvāmin is a riddle to the historian of Indian philosophy and religion. Various works have been attributed to him. Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray who has devoted great attention to this subject writes in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIV, Parts 3 and 4, indicating his belief that the existence of a Rudra sect of Vaiṣṇavas before Vallabha and Viṣṇusvāmin's claim to be the founder or chief teacher thereof is a semi-myth. He regards Viṣṇusvāmin to have been no other than Vidyāśankara, the guru of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa and the celebrated pontiff of Sringeri in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

***

On the Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya controversy and the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire, yet another article appears and this time in the *Journal of Indian History* for August 1933 by Mr. M. A. Doraiswamy Iyengar, championing the view of Mr. R. Rama Rao in *I. H. Q.* Who is Vidyāraṇya then? If he is not identifiable with Kriyāśakti, who the latter may be still remains unsolved even on this hypothesis.

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The historical material available in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai who lived in the middle of the eighteenth century, a translation of which has been published by the Government of Madras, is the basis of a series of articles by Prof. C. S. Sreenivasachari of the Annamalai University, being published as studies in the *Journal of Indian History.*

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Dr. Schmidt, the well-known Persian excavator, will shortly excavate the ancient Persian site of Ray (Rhages) about six miles south-east of Teheran. The site is known to contain deposits dating from the fourth millennium B.C. if not even earlier. The excavation is expected to throw fresh light on Persian culture and on its relations with the Mesopotamian cultures. A total area of about fifty square miles will be excavated by the expedition, which has been planned jointly by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the University Museum of Philadelphia, with concessions obtained from the Persian Government. The finds are to be divided among the Persian Government, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Philadelphia Museum, the first getting a half and the latter two a quarter each. Students of ancient history and culture look forward eagerly to the results of the excavation.

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THE RELIGION OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF TRAVANCORE

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.

WESTERMARCK defines religion as " a belief in, and a respectful attitude towards, a supernatural being on whom man feels dependent and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship ".[1] With primitive man " religion is a part of his custom. It is his whole custom. Between him and the unknown stands nothing but his custom."[2] The religion of primitive man in Travancore may be described as a system of animism or spiritism and his attitude to the supernatural is one of reverential fear in the presence of certain mysterious supernatural powers and beings and their propitiation or conciliation to avert ill-will.

The theory of animism divides itself into two great dogmas forming parts of one consistent doctrine, first concerning souls of individual creatures capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; secondly, concerning other spirits upwards to the rank of deities.[3]

1 Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. II.
2 Marret, *Anthropology*, p. 213.
3 Risley, *The People of India*, p. 222.

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Animism in its fullest development includes the belief in souls, in a future and in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship. The concept of personality is fluid and vague. No images of spirits are made and there are no temples. As for the village deities, one or more groves constitute their shrine. Stones are employed as symbols of deities among the Malayarayans.

The village priest is generally the headman who attends to the propitiation of village deities and spirits. The office is hereditary, the nephew succeeding to it. While it is the headman who officiates as priest among most of the tribes, there is a plāthi or medicine-man among the Kāṇikārs and Ūrāḷis who cures all the ailments and practises the black art. Propitiation is congregational and is intended to restore men's confidence, when shaken by crisis. Harmonious relations are maintained by supplications, prayers, offerings and sacrifices. The community as a whole, represented by the village elders, constitute the priesthood for the propitiation of the deities and spirits although the headman conducts the rites. The elders are the recognized custodians of tribal tradition and custom. The ideal of their life is to live on friendly terms with the gods and spirits, to possess sufficient lands, crops and cattle, to be free from debts, and to have enough to eat and live.

The hill-tribes of Travancore have a hierarchy of deities and spirits.

(1) The Sun.
(2) Ancestor Spirits.
(3) Village Deities and Spirits.
(4) Hunting Deities.
(5) Tramp Spirits.

I. Worship of the Sun

The worship of the sun is confined to the Muduvans. Every Muduvan worships it early morning daily by raising his hands to his face. It is probable that the worship of the sun may have at one time formed a prominent part of their religion,

The Kāṇikār calls the sun, Bhagavân and worships the same on Fridays. The sun is considered to be the creator of all and is reckoned as a female. Early at sunrise, he places in front of his hut a lighted lamp, fruits, beaten and fried rice. He then prays: "Oh Gods, pray accept this offering." He and his family then partake of the offerings. The Ūrāḷis recognize the sun as a creator of the universe and the father of all souls.

II. Ancestor Spirits

Ancestor-worship is one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. In India it comes to the surface in all directions and its principles keep up the social relations of the living world. According to Tylor, the dead ancestor now passed as deity goes on protecting his family and receiving suit from them as of old. Ancestors are therefore considered as kindly patron spirits at least to their own kinsfolk and worshippers.

Ancestor-worship is prevalent among most of the primitive tribes of Travancore. Among the Malayarayans of Central Travancore appear wide and deep traces of a surviving culture of ancestors. In the mountains inhabited by them are many tumuli or vaults called "Paundu-kuri". They stand north to south with a circular opening to the south. A round stone is fitted to this aperture with another acting as lever to prevent its falling out. The stones on the sides as well as at the top and bottom are single slabs. To this day they make similar little cells, the whole forming a box a few inches square, and on the death of a member of a family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass or similar image which is shut in the vault. A few offerings of milk, rice and toddy, and ghee are made, a torch is lighted, the figure is placed inside the cell, and the cover-stone hastily placed on. All then leave. On the anniversary day, similar offerings are made. The stone is lifted off and hastily closed. The spirit is supposed to be enclosed. None venture to touch the cell at any other time.[4] The Malayarayans of the present

[4] Matur, *Native Life in Travancore.*

day do not erect dolmens over the dead. Ancestor-worship is now confined to persons who are killed by a tiger or who meet with unnatural death, as their spirits are considered to influence the life of the living in a mysterious manner. This will be dealt with separately.

Among the Kāṇikārs, ancestor spirits go by legion. Sangan Perumāl Muthan, Nīlambi Muthan, Muthāla Muthan, Ēcha Muthan and others make up 101 spirits of ancestors. When a man is terrified by wild animals like bears or wild elephants, he at once comes back and solicits the aid of plāthi (medicine-man), who takes some small pebbles and places five stones in a row in honour of Gaṇapathi. He then holds some pebbles in his right hand and drops them in pairs into his left hand to ascertain whether Ēcha Muthan is responsible for the incident. If an even number remains in the right hand after dropping four pairs of pebbles, the medicine-man concludes that Ēcha Muthan is responsible for it. If an odd balance remains in the right hand, the same process is repeated to ascertain whether Pulichāvu is responsible. In this manner is found out the true spirit responsible for the incident. These spirits are propitiated by offerings to Pulichāvu, Ānachāvu and Pāmbuchāvu to intercede on behalf of the terrified man and save his children from trouble.

The Muduvans make offerings to ancestors in Thye (January-February). A pongal is offered by the side of clothes, beads, rings and bangles. Clothes are to propitiate male ancestors, and bangles and beads, female ancestors. The prayer is to the effect, "Oh parents, grand-parents, and great grand-parents, protect us. We shall propitiate you every year."

The Vishavans make offerings to ancestor spirits, the day before they depart from the cultivated area to the river side. Each man gives one measure of paddy. All the rice is cooked, laid on leaves, and offered to ancestor spirits along with arrack, tobacco and fried rice. Intoxicants and stimulants are frequently objects of veneration. The deification of drink is due to its exhilarating and invigorating effects.

It is plain in our times that the dead still receive worship from the larger half of mankind. Spencer and Grant think that the worship of the dead is the root of every religion. The spirits of the dead are worshipped, because they are capable of influencing the welfare of the living in a mysterious manner.

III. Village Deities and Spirits

Men distinguish between two classes of phenomena,. natural and supernatural, between the phenomena they are familiar with, and in consequence ascribe to natural causes and the other phenomena which seem to them unfamiliar, mysterious and therefore supposed to spring from causes of a supernatural character. We meet with this distinction at the lower stages of culture known to us as well as higher stages. Mystery is the essential characteristic of supernatural beings.

The worship of the spirits of particular local hills or other awe-inspiring natural objects falls under this category. The existence of an indwelling spirit is dimly recognized and in others an immanent power or mysterious energy of the nature of man is believed to be in those. The worship of this class of supernatural powers is said to stand between religion and magic.

The Malayarayans worship five eminences, Thalapāramala, Āzhamala, Puthiamala and Savampāramala. They do not separate the spirit from the matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

The gods of the Kāṇikārs are legion. The Kāṇikār assumes that all about him are ma levolent spirits that cause misery. Where life is mainly one of struggle, man is ever on the watch against malice-working agencies, and it is his fear that moves him to enter into his religious observances. All the rites and ceremonies of the Kāṇikār are intended to placate them, and their propitiation forms the corner-stone of his religion. The Kāṇikārs of Kottūr and those in the vicinity go to Agastiar peak in Kumbhom and stay there for four days before full-moon. On the first day, they reach the peak in the evening. Next day, they bathe in a tank and make their

offerings of raw rice and tender cocoanuts and pray, "We are living on Agastiar hill and we need your help. We have none but you. We live in the jungle. May we enjoy your protection!"

The Uḷḷādans also make an annual offering to Thalapāramala, Udampāramala, and Chakkipāramala. The offering consists of fruits, beaten rice, milk, sugar, molasses and is made on one of the hills. They believe that it is due to the help they receive from them that they are able to live in the jungle without molestation.

The Hill-Pandārams dread the jungle deities. If a Hill-Pandāram gets polluted, he bathes and then alone gets into the jungle. The Hill-Pandārams of Thalapāra worship crests of hills, Kotangi, Vēttamala, Kōttamala and Muthanmala. They make a respectful bow when they pass by them, and say, "Oh hills, save us from mishaps".

The Muduvans of the Cardamom hills worship the following sylvan deities, Kōttamalaswami and Vadaganāthaswami, who are supposed to take their abode on crests of hills. They are regarded with reverence and their propitiation consists in a respectful attitude, when passing by their reputed haunts.

The Paḷiyans of Vandamēt worship a deity of rock on an eminence called Lalasanyasi, who is propitiated in April with offerings of cocoanut, plantains, betel and nuts. Women are debarred from attending the ceremony. The Malankuravans also make offerings to eminences like Thalapāramala, Udampāramala and Thevalapāramala. The Ūrāḷi makes the offering.

Traces of animism exist among the Mannāns. As the process of clearing the jungle involves a disturbance of the spirits residing there, a portion of the jungle is dedicated to them as their haunt, and passers-by make a respectful obeisance by a discriminating bow even to this day.

We find a replica of this custom in all parts of the world. Among the American Indians, Dorman points out that remarkable features in natural scenery or dangerous places become

objects of superstitious regard and veneration, because they are supposed to be the abode of gods. A high mountain or an isolated peak is looked upon with superstitious respect and propitiated with offerings.

IV. Hunting Spirits

The hunting spirits would come under this category. When a party of Muduvans return with the spoils of the chase, the carcase is suspended over fire for the removal of hair. In the case of black monkey, its liver, hands and feet are cut into slices separately. These are then pierced by fine thin stakes. They are then roasted by being suspended over fire and are then placed over a leaf. The following prayers are then offered: "Just as my parents, grand-parents and their ancestors went in quest of food and lived by the spoils of the game, I wish the same luck for myself. If I am blessed, I shall offer you a share of the spoils before they are tasted by anybody else." The slices are then distributed among those present on the spot. The remaining portion is then divided equally among all the village folk.

The Kāṇikārs also propitiate the hunting spirits before they go ahunting. Sankaramalla Muthan, Pulichāvu and Patanāya Muthan are some of them. When an animal is killed, the skin is first peeled off. The heart and lungs are cut into slices, roasted in the fire, and then placed on leaves. They are intended as offerings for ancestor spirits and hunting spirits. All bathe and pray as follows :—"When we get into the jungle, pray let us have game easily. If you do not kill and give them to us, we will conclude there are no Muthans." The slices are then eaten by those who are there. The remaining flesh is divided equally among all the village folk.

It is interesting to observe that an analogous custom of giving the same offering to the hunting deity prevails among the Uḷḷādans of Travancore, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and others.

V. Tramp Spirits

Tramp spirits include mischievous spirits of persons dying an unnatural death. Pandārachāvu (spirit of one dying of

small-pox), *Aruvāḷachāvu*, *Nayat Aruvāḷa* and *Murthi* are some of the tramp spirits of the Uḷḷādans. An offering of fried rice, flesh of sambhar, fowl, arrack and toddy, is made in front of the yard of the afflicted person. The priest gets into a fit and holds the tuft of the afflicted person who also gets into a fit. He then utters, "I shall leave this person". All then partake of the offerings.

Among the Malayarayans, a metallic effigy continues to be made of a person meeting with an unnatural death. A small box of stone is made of verticals and a capstone. It is erected on elevated ground and is open in front on ceremonial days. The metallic image is placed inside it. It is worshipped on Sankramom days in Vrischigom and Medom annually.

Startling events are ascribed to the activity not only of visible but of invisible supernatural agents; sudden or strange diseases are at the lower stages of culture commonly supposed to be occasioned by a supernatural being, which has taken up its abode in the sick person's body, or otherwise sent the disease. The Muduvans are worshippers of malevolent deities like Karuppu, Māriamma and Kāḷi, whose business is to bring drought, disease and death. They are propitiated to protect the people from small-pox. The priest may be a woman at times.

Influence of Hinduism

Hinduism may be described as animism more or less transformed by philosophy, or to condense the epigram still further, as magic tempered by metaphysics. According to Lyall, Hinduism may be roughly described as the religion of all the people who accept the Brahmanic Scriptures.[5]

The Muduvans of Travancore show signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. They worship God Subramonia. In each village is a thatched shed put up away from the habitations. Inside is a bamboo thatti over which are placed a cane and a bundle of peacock's feather. These are emblematic of God Subramonia, who is known as Paḻaniyāndavar.

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[5] Risley, *The People of India*, p. 233.

The Malayarayans, the Mannāns and the Kāṇikārs have modified their animistic practices in the direction of orthodox Hinduism. It is a very interesting fact that all the hill-tribes worship Sāsta, whose worship betrays many features of animistic practices from start to finish.

On their march to Śabarimala, votaries of Sāsta offer fried rice and molasses to the crags on the bed of the Peruthode stream. These are supposed to be the resting places of Sāsta and his followers. Another custom refers to the worship of all stones on the way from Kōttapadi to Śabarimala. The natural object is worshipped, because it is believed to possess supernatural power, but it is nevertheless the object itself that is worshipped. In other words, they do not separate the spirit from the matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

On reaching the Azhutha river, the votaries camp there for the night. The river is worshipped as a deity, which fills their imagination and receives their homage. At Kallidamkunnu, all the Kanni Ayyappans throw a pebble on the crest of the hill. This is intended to press down the personality of Asura, who haunts there, so that he may not come out and do harm to them. The animist who endows an inanimate object with a soul regards the visible thing itself as its body. He finds it easier to worship a material thing which may be seen than a hidden god, however perfect in shape.

According to Robert Briffault, the function of primitive religion is much more direct, concrete and practical. It is not to interpret life, but to obtain those things which are reckoned needful to its existence.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SANSKRIT DRAMA

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, B.A., L.T.

ANY attempt to probe into the probable origin of the Sanskrit drama must of necessity involve us in conjectures, since the earlier stages of its development are shrouded in mystery. The oldest of the dramas now available to us—the fragments of Aswaghōsa and the works of Bhāsa—show a definite stage of perfection which presupposes a development of the art for some centuries earlier. What it was in those early ages is not now possible of assertion with any degree of certainty. The attempts of many an Oriental scholar to build up, from its very inception, a history of the Sanskrit drama on the analogy of that of the Greek drama, have so far been productive of no irrefutable results. In most of the hymns of the Rig-Vēda which are of the nature of dialogues or monologues —and there are over a score of them—a good many of these scholars read a type akin to the mystery-plays of the Greeks, and thereby formulate their theories of the origin of the Sanskrit drama. Almost every subsequent writer of note has either totally demolished or considerably modified the theories of his predecessors and built up his own instead.

Many of these critics do not seem to realize that the hymns of the Vēda are not all of them necessarily of a religious character. That some of them may be secular in character they refuse to believe, in their anxiety to establish a religious origin for the drama and trace the same to the Vēdic hymns. For instance, the hymn of Viswāmitra (III. 33), of Vasishta (VII. 33), the frog hymn (VII. 103), the gambler's hymn (X. 34) and the like cannot be treated as anything but secular. The later ritualistic literature, while appropriating almost all the religious hymns for some sacrificial or ritualistic purposes, has left alone the secular hymns. This is itself a proof of some of the hymns collected in the Rig-Vēda being treated as secular in character by the

ancient sages themselves. Without its being necessarily religious, the dialogue or monologue was but a variety of poetic composition indulged in by the Rig-Vēdic poets. In some form or other it persisted down into the classical period and found its fruition in the drama.

Other scholars trace the origin of the Sanskrit drama to some fertility rites like those of other Indo-Germanic peoples, and see in the simple satirical hymns (like the frog hymn) a rain or a vegetation charm. Though their conclusions have not as yet commanded general approval they are at least on a firmer ground than those who see Vēdic mysteries in the dialogistic hymns.

Others again have adopted the easier solution of a Greek origin for the Sanskrit drama, avoiding the necessity of analysing the ancient literature of the land in order to trace out in it the elements that directly go to make the drama. There are, of course, some points of similarity between the Greek and the Indian dramas, such as the division into acts, the unity of action and the central conflict; but the points of dissimilarity are many and formidable. The tragedy of Greek poets is simply unknown to the Sanskrit poets—rather, it is foreign to their genius. A mere ending in sorrow does not make a tragedy, unless that sorrow is on the side of the hero. Sanskrit poets who intend their drama to be an instrument of instruction on some aspect of the eternal Dharma, cannot conceive of any victory of the unrighteous over the righteous. Therefore, though sometimes their dramas, as in *Ūrubhanga* of Bhāsa, end in sorrow, care is taken to see that it is always on the side of the rival hero, so that the end of the drama is in fact the happiness of the real hero. The Greek unities of time and place have no place in the Sanskrit drama. Again, the use of Prākritic dialects in the latter has no parallel in the former. The *Prasthāvana* of the Sanskrit drama has nothing in common with the prologue of the Greek drama.

Having all the elements like recitation, song, dance and

representation in its own literature, no nation waits for an external impetus to bring the elements together and evolve its drama. It may be that the Greek impact has been responsible for certain embellishments of the drama; but even here one cannot be positive as to which particular embellishment is directly traceable to the Greek influence.

Finally, it might not be impossible for two peoples of the same stock, even though separated by ages and living far apart, to evolve their own dramas under almost similar conditions, without the necessity of the one borrowing from the other at any stage of its development. This might possibly account for the accidental coincidences, side by side with the fundamental differences.

On the Indian side, there is an interesting tradition on the origin of the drama preserved in the pages of the *Nātya Sāstra,* a work commonly ascribed to an ancient sage Bharata. That the extant *Nātya Sāstra* is not the earliest of its kind is easily seen; for it quotes here and there with approval traditional (अनुवंश्य) verses of Slōka or Ārya metre, and some from a Sūtra literature (सूत्रानुबद्ध) on the subject; at times it also refers to other authors whom it simply designates as केचित्. It may be that most of the verses quoted are the genuine ones from the original work of Bharata of which the extant work may be but an adaptation. It may also be that the Sūtra mentioned refers to some such *Nātasūtras* as those of Silalin and Krisaswa quoted by Pāṇini. For want of sufficient facts our conclusions must of necessity be mere conjectures.

Now to the tradition. The four Vēdas being confined to the *Trai-varnas,* all the gods headed by Indra approached Brahma and requested him to create a fifth Vēda, interesting and instructive at once, to which the fourth varna too might have easy access. Brahma acceded to their prayer, went into a contemplative mood and created the *Nātya Vēda.* To this end he laid the four earlier Vēdas under contribution. From the Rig-Vēda he took recitation; from the Sāma Vēda the song; from the Yajus dance or representation; and from the Atharvan the rasas.

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेवच ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

Having created the *Nātya Vēda* he intended it as an instrument of instruction for the elevation of all generations to come. He taught the fifth Vēda to sage Bharata and directed him to entertain the gods with a performance on the occasion of Indra's banner festival (ध्वजमहोत्सव)—an occasion when the success of Indra over his foes (the Asuras) was to be celebrated. The story selected was the defeat of the Asuras at the hands of Indra. At this the Asuras were naturally enraged and created disturbance. The actors stood spell-bound on the stage; they forgot their parts and could neither speak nor move. Indra had to take up his mace and deal adequately with all the disturbing elements. When order was restored, the gods ran up to Brahma and informed him of the disturbances to their merriment from the Asura quarters. Viswakarman was then called in and ordered by Brahma to erect a play-house (नाट्यमंदिर). When it was ready for occupation, all the gods were required to contribute their share in protecting the play-house from further disturbances, both in and out.

Seeing their attempts thus thwarted, Virūpāksha, the leader of the disturbing party, protested that Brahma, from whom they too were descended as were the gods, was unduly partial to the latter. The accusation went home, and Brahma effected a compromise and tried to appease his irritant children. He prescribed that the stories to be represented on the stage shall be not only of gods, but also of Asuras, kings and Brahmarishis, and they must aim at some elevating instruction for the world at large.

लोकोपदेशजननं..........
देवानामसुराणां च राजलोकस्य चैवहि ।
ब्रह्मर्षीणां च विज्ञेयं नाट्यं वृत्तान्तदर्शकम् ॥

He made it plain that the *Nātya Vēda* he had created was not to be an exclusive privilege of the gods, but must be equally shared by Asuras and men as well. He assured Virūpāksha that the *Nātya Sāstra* had laid under contribution every

conceivable science and art, so that no science or art that did not contribute to it deserved its appellation.

न तच्छ्रुतं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला ।
नासौ योगो न तत्कर्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मिन्न लक्ष्यते ॥

The discontented party was pleased and the full-fledged drama with its *Nātya Mandira* came into vogue.

Now this tradition cannot be lightly dismissed as something fictitious. Traditions generally contain some historic truths deeply imbedded in them. The mass of weedy growth around such truths sometimes baffles all attempts to analyse the tradition and make it bring out the truths into view. To our limited vision this tradition seems to yield some historic facts connected with the development of the drama. They are given below for what they are worth.

The Rig-Vēda is essentially of hymns intended to recite, and hence it is a Vēda of recitation; the Sāma Vēda, of hymns. set to music, and therefore, a Vēda of song; in the Yajur Vēda we find that in celebrating certain rituals the priests had to assume the rôle of gods—in other words, they represented gods in certain ceremonies; and hence representation came first into vogue in Yajur Vēda. Even in our own day we have recourse to this kind of representation in performing Pitr-srāddhas. We invite three Brahmans to represent respectively the departed Pitris, the All-Gods (विश्वेदेवाः) and Vishnu. No ritual of importance can be undertaken without Brahma being invoked to preside. If possible, a Brahman is made to represent Brahma and in his absence the *Kusa Grass* does the function. The sacrificer invokes the Creator with the words अस्मिन् कर्मणि ब्रह्माणं त्वां वृणीमहे and makes offerings into the fire with his sanction (ब्रह्मन् इध्ममाधास्ये).

Scholars are agreed that our Srâddha ceremonies have an enviable continuity, unbroken from the remotely dim Vēdic ages down to our own day. We may therefore take it that the principle of representation (अभिनय) *i.e.*, assuming the character of an individual other than oneself, came into use in the Yajur Vēda.

The Atharvana Vēda consists to a large extent of hymns of sorcery, spells and incantations; and these have directly to do with emotions like love, anger, fear, hatred, disgust, pity and so on. Rasa, which partakes of an æsthetic nature, is but an impersonal, detached relish of these emotions exhibited on the stage. Hence, perhaps, the dramatic rasas are traced back to Atharvana Vēda as their original source.

The dramatic elements and their order of derivation from the four Vēdas seem to indicate a sequence in the gradual development of the drama. Here and there in the Vēdic literature one meets with cryptic passages, which appear to point to a sequence in the emergence of the Vēdas themselves. (ऋचस्सामानि जज्ञिरे । ······यजुस्तस्मादजायत ।····) We, therefore, venture to infer that in its embryonic stage the drama was but recitation like that of our Paurānikas. Music next stepped into the field and classes, perhaps remotely resembling our Harikatha Bhāgavatas, came into view. At some later stage, representation contributed its share; and the then drama was perhaps a remote ancestor of our present-day yātras and street-plays. With the discovery of rasa and its development, the soul of the kāvya was in evidence, and the full fledged drama emerged as a perfected work of art.

The Dēvas and Asuras of the tradition seem to indicate the cultured classes and the unlettered masses of the populace. Before the discovery of rasa as the soul of drama, the dramatic performances were perhaps crude and were in the nature of popular mimes. There was no stage as such, and any open ground suited the purpose as with the street-plays of our own times. With the discovery of rasa, the cultured classes improved the drama, and claimed perhaps its exclusive possession. The unlettered masses naturally resented and created occasional disturbances to their performances. The necessity for an enclosure was felt and play-houses came into existence, to which admission of the masses depended upon the pleasure of the classes. The masses came to terms and a compromise was effected. Public play-houses came into vogue to which the masses too had occasional access.

Thus the drama developed in two separate channels, one with the masses and the other with the classes. There were occasional exchanges on either side. The drama of the masses, though persisting down through ages maintaining its own characteristics as seen in our street-plays, seems to have given the cultured classes their Bhana, Anka, Vîdhi, and other such types of admittedly inferior mould; while that for the cultured classes developed itself in all its aspects of the plot, the characters, the rasa and so on, and culminated in the types of decidedly superior mould, like Nātaka (including Nātika) and Prakarana which have elements of almost all the minor types going into their frame work.

This much we seem to see in the tradition recorded in the pages of the *Nātya Sāstra*. Thus the *Sāstra* appears to supply us an indirect evidence as to the origin and development of the Sanskrit drama. But the *Sāstra* itself, not being of any considerable antiquity, is not expected to render us help by way of any direct evidence in this regard. It came into existence long after the drama with its ten types was a settled fact. The types themselves presuppose the development of the eight rasas, the five sandhis and the four vrittis,—subjects treated at some length in the *Nātya Sāstra*. And what might be the probable age of the *Nātya Sāstra*, so that in reference to it the upper limits of the developments of the drama could be fixed with some degree of certainty?

In the *Nātya Sāstra*, the science of rhetoric has its crude beginnings. The *Sāstra* speaks of only four figures of speech—*Upama*, *Deepaka*, *Rupaka* and *Yamaka*—and knows no more. उपमा दीपकं चैव रूपकं यमकं तथा । काव्यस्यैतेह्यलंकाराश्चत्वारः परिकीर्तिताः (XVI. 11.) Its treatment of *Upama* and its varieties is rather crude; *Yamaka*, on the other hand, has a more scientific treatment. The latter-day distinction between the *Arthālankāras* and the *Sabdālankāras* does not appear to have been recognized as such. The earliest of the Ālankārikas known to us is Bhamaha, and his treatment of the Alankāras is more elaborate and scientific than in the *Nātya Sāstra*. One must therefore allow some centuries of development for the science of

rhetoric, from the *Nātya Sāstra* to Bhamaha. Scholars generally accord the fifth century A.D., to Bhamaha, which gives to the *Nātya Sāstra* the third or the second century at the most.

Now, if the drama had its full development about the beginnings of the Christian era, we have to go elsewhere for any direct evidence that might throw some light on the probable stages of its development. As already has been seen, the fragments of Aswaghōsa and the works of Bhāsa presuppose centuries of development of the dramatic art before it could reach the height seen in those works.

While commenting on the Pāṇinian sūtra हेतुमज्जा (III. 1-26) Patānjali discusses the propriety of using the present to describe a remotely past event, and cites as an illustration the cases of Çaubhikas, painters and grandhikas representing the binding of Bali and the killing of Kaṃsa, as though they were just happening before the very eyes of the spectators (*Mahābhāshya*, III. 1). Some scholars opine that the Çaubhikas were but actors in a pantomime and the grandhikas were story-tellers in costume; others are inclined to view that the Çaubhikas were those who explained the pantomime to the audience, while the grandhikas were but kathakas, pure and simple. But Patānjali himself speaks of the grandhikas applying colours to their faces in order to represent themselves as of the party of Vāsudēva or of Kamsa. This leaves us in no doubt as to the grandhikas being themselves actors. Here we have some sort of direct evidence as to the existence of the drama in some form or other, and of troops of actors, about the times of Patānjali. Add to this the *Nātasutras* mentioned by Pāṇini; and we carry the drama to about the fifth century B.C. Further than this it is not now possible to proceed for want of adequate materials.

There is one other tradition preserved in the works of our great dramatists, Kālidāsa, Srī Harsha, and Bhavabhūti. They introduce an interlude in some of their dramas, where women are represented to have staged some stories. In his *Vikramōrvasīya*, Kālidāsa speaks of a drama, *Lakshmīswayamvara,* played by Apsara women in the court of Indra, Ūrvasi

appearing on the stage in Lakshmi's character; in *Priyadarsika*. Vāsavadatta is said to have been entertained by her maids-of-honour who staged *Udayanacharitra*; again in *Uttara Rāmacharitra*, Bhavabhūti describes Vālmiki's entertainment of his guests by staging the history of Sita from the moment of her desertion by her lord. In all these cases women alone are represented to have been the actors. Now, if the practice were not in vogue, at least in the royal harems, the poets would not have made a literary use of it in their dramas. If there existed a prejudice, we believe it did, against women acting on the stage, how did it come about that the royal ladies escaped the odium, and were even encouraged by their spouses to enact some drama or other within the harem?

We think the age of prejudice was about the beginnings of the drama when men and women seem to have actually participated on the stage—a view to which the *Prasthāvana* lends some support. As a consequence of the mixing of actors of either sex on the stage, there was every possibility of the danger of their morals becoming loose, especially for the gentler sex. Reproachful terms like जायाजीवाः as applied to the actors had perhaps their own significance. Women had to withdraw, and the prejudice was in time got over. This accounts for the earlier canons of the Buddhists and Jain monks prohibiting their order from witnessing dramatic performances, and for the later practice of the monks like Aswaghōsha selecting the dramatic form as a suitable instrument for propagating the tenets of their religion.

When the actors were all women as on the royal stages, there was no reason for the prejudice to persist any longer. It is possible that, while in the hands of the cultured royal ladies, the drama received some finer touches. To this end, the court poets who wrote dramas had them staged perhaps within the royal harem, before they were sent out to the public stages of towns and cities. May it thus be that the drama of the cultured found its final fruition in the works of master-minds like *Kālidāsa* and *Bhavabhūti*?

JAIN VESTIGES IN THE PUDUKOTAH STATE

[The Pudukotah Museum Plate of the Twenty-four Tirthankaras.]

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.

AND

K. VENKATARANGAM RAJU

JAINISM is known to have existed in Southern India since historical times. The natural caverns, which have been discovered, sometimes with a few inscriptions in *brahmi* script, are connected with the Jains and form the earliest stone-monuments of the Tamil land, and are perhaps the precursors of the Hindu rock-cut cave temples—Śiva and Viṣṇu—of the days of the Pallavas.

Till about the seventh century A.D., Jainism had a large following in Southern India; and it seems to have flourished in friendly rivalry with Buddhism and Hinduism, till the Hindu sectarian movements—Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite—reclaimed the Jains back to the Hindu fold. The Jain faith lost its hold on the masses as the Hindus, by absorbing the main features of the rival religion, drove the Jains to a comparatively insignificant place in the Tamil land. But, in spite of such absorption into the Hindu fold, and the alleged persecution in the days of Gñānasambhanda, Jainism seems to have survived in sufficient measure and strength so as to play a distinguished rôle in the history of Southern India till almost the end of the thirteenth century. And it is the Muhammadan invasions that have been largely responsible for the disappearance of the Jaina sects and their monuments in this part of India.

Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson observes, "The Mohammedans found in the Jaina temples not only quarries from which to steal ready-made the pillars for their mosques, but, as it were, garments for the expression of religion that could be made over for their use. As easily as an elder sister's clothes are cut up and altered for the use of the younger, so conveniently were Jain temples transformed for the appropriation of the

newest arrival on the Indian scene. All that the victorious Mohammedans had to do was to make slight structural alterations." Then she quotes the following paragraph from Fergusson :—*

" By removing the principal cell and its porch from the centre of the court and building up the entrances of the cells that surrounded it, a courtyard was at once obtained, surrounded by a double colonnade, which always was the typical form of a mosque. Still one essential feature was wanting—a more important side towards Mecca ; this they easily obtained by removing the smaller pillars from that side, and re-erecting in their place, the larger pillars of the porch, with their dome in the centre ; and if there were two smaller domes, by placing one of them at each end."

Thus the Muhammadan invasion seems to have had a large share not only in the destruction of the Jaina monuments, but also in the suppression of the individuality of the Jaina religion.

There are nearly sixteen centres in the Pudukotah State where Jain vestiges can now be traced.

The plate of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras was found, some years back, imbedded along with a number of other Jaina bronze idols in the compound of the Raja's College, Pudukotah, situated on the southern side of the capital of the State, and it is now preserved in the State Museum On the east of the environs of the capital, were discovered some burial urns of an ancient people, who lived in this region. In historical times, we learn that in proximity to this site, was a flourishing commercial centre called Kalaśamangalam.

The plate of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras should have been an object of worship of the Jains in a temple or in some household of a fairly well-to-do Jain. Not far off from this place near Tirugokarnam is another Jain idol with triple umbrellas on the top of the hill called Sadaiyārpārai, and it is even now worshipped by the people in the neighbourhood as Sadaiyārpāraimuni.

* *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 69.

The plate is a *relievo* in bronze with the figures of the Twenty-four Tīrthankaras set in one frame-work attached to a piṭam. On either side of the frame-work is attached what is called an '*alavattam*' as an insignia of the royal dignity associated with these figures. The upper portion has four bars running cross-wise with an inter-space of one inch from one another, ending at the top in a triangular shape with three well-turned loops on either side and crowned with a central piece of an elliptical shape. The whole piece measures 14½ inches in height and 7 inches in breadth at its widest part.

The principal figure in the centre is a Tīrthankara standing in an erect posture on a padma piṭa. The figure is nude. It has long ear-lobes and the face indicates deep contemplation. Its hair is worked in ringlets with two tufts of hair hanging on either side of its shoulders. A ring is attached to the back part of the head to answer a similar one attached to the cross-bar of the frame-work just above the central figure. The two hands hang loosely on the sides. The figure together with the padmāsana measures six inches in height and two inches from shoulder to shoulder. The front of the piṭam is adorned with a crouching bull in the centre and a lion-rampant at either end. The pīṭam juts out four inches to the front and is two inches high.

Attached to the piṭam on either side is a seated figure. The one on its right has a cow's face and four arms; the front right hand being in the abhaya pose, and the front left hand stretched out. The figure on its left is a female with four arms, holding *Cakra* and *Sankha* in the two upper hands; the front right hand being in the abhaya pose and the front left as if presenting a fruit.

From the *cinha* (cognizance) described above the central figure should be Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha, the first Tīrthankara with his two attendant spirits *Gomukha* and *Cakreśvari*.

According to Jain mythology, Ṛṣabhadeva was the son of a Rajput king. In a dream, his mother saw a bull (ṛṣabha) coming towards her. Hence his name. He is said to have lived for eighty-four lakhs of pūrva of time. He taught men

seventy-two arts and women sixty-four. He had one hundred sons of whom the most famous was Bharata, the first Cakravartin of India. His chief glory lies in his being the first to teach the Jain faith.

There are four Tīrthaṅkaras on either side of the central figure, and above it are four rows, with four Tīrthankaras in the first tier, five in each of the next two tiers and one crowning them all at the top with a five-hooded serpent as a canopy. This is the figure of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthankara. He was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, the real founder of Jainism and is as historical a person as Mahāvīra himself, and lived nearly 250 years before the latter.

Pārśvanātha was the son of Aśvasena and Vāma. Before his birth, his mother saw a black serpent by her side. Hence his name. Before his renunciation, he was a great warrior. He defeated the Yavana king of Kalinga and he married the daughter of the king of Ayodhya. At thirty years of age, he turned an ascetic and practised for eighty-four days intense meditation and austerities in order to become a Kēvalin. During this time, his enemy, the brahman ascetic, caused a heavy down-pour of rain. Then his friend the snake, who had become God Dharanendra, spread his hood like an umbrella and sheltered him against the rain. Therefore Pārśvanātha's *cinha* (cognizance) is the hooded serpent's head (three, five or seven hoods). He preached the new religion for seventy years and attained perfect knowledge and deliverance at the ripe age of 100 years. He is said to have enjoined on his followers four vows: (1) not to take life, (2) not to lie, (3) not to steal, and (4) not to own property. Mahāvīra added to this a fifth vow, *viz.*, chastity.

All the other twenty-two Tīrthankaras are seated in the usual *dhyāna* pose. Their legs are crossed and their hands rest upon the crossed legs and the right palm faces upwards and is made to rest on the left palm also held similarly. Each figure is one inch in height.

We have no epigraphical evidence to fix the age of this metal but considering the simple cut and the natural features

of the figures and of the objects of the attendant spirits, we may infer that the bronze plate might have been cast about the end of the tenth century A.D.

The names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, their colour, their cognizance, their attendant spirits and their places of birth and death are given in the Appendix.

APPEN

The Twenty-four

No.	Name	Colour	Cognizance
1	Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādi-nātha	Yellow or golden	Bull
2	Ajitanātha	Yellow or golden	Elephant
3	Sambhavanātha	Yellow or golden	Horse
4	Abhinandana	Yellow or golden	Ape
5	Sumatinātha	Yellow or golden	Red goose or Partridge or Curlew
6	Padmaprabhu	Red	Red Lotus flower
7	Supārśvanātha	Yellow or golden	Swastika
8	Candraprabhu	White	Moon
9	Suvidhinātha	White	Crocodile (? Dig. Crab)
10	Śītaḷanātha	Yellow or golden	Śrīvatsa figure (? Dig. Ficus religiosa)
11	Śreyāṁśanātha	Yellow or golden	Rhinoceros
12	Vāsupūjya	Red	Male Buffalo
13	Vimaḷanātha	Yellow or golden	Boar
14	Ananthanātha	Yellow or golden	Hawk (? Dig. Bear)
15	Dharmanātha	Yellow or golden	Thunderbolt
16	Śāntinātha	Yellow or golden	Deer†
17	Kunthunātha	Yellow or golden	Goat
18	Aranātha	Yellow or golden	Nandāvartta Diagram
19	Mallinātha (acc. to the Śwetāmbara, a woman)	Blue	Water jar
20	Munisuvrata	Black	Tortoise
21	Naminātha	Yellow or golden	Blue lotus (Dig. Aśoka Tree)
22	Néminātha	Black	Conch Shell
23	Pārśvanātha	Blue	Snake
24	Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna	Yellow or golden	Lion

† According to Burgess, ' Antelope '.

DIX.

Tirthankaras.*

Attendant Spirits	Born at	Died at
Gomukha or Cakreśvari	Vinitānagara	Aṣṭāpada
Mahāyakṣa and Ajitabalā	Ayodhyā	Samēta Śikhara
Trimukha and Duritāri (Digambara Prajñapti)	Śrāvasti	" "
Nāyaka and Kālikā (Dig. Yakṣeśvara and Vajraśrinkhalā)	Ayodhyā	" "
Tumburu and Mahākāli (Dig. Puruṣadattā)	Ayodhyā	" "
Kusuma and Syāmā (Dig. Manōvegā [Manōgupti])	Kausambi	" "
Mātaṅga and Sāntā (Dig. Varanandi and Kāli)	Benares	" "
Vijaya and Bhṛkuṭi (Dig. Jvālāmālinī)	Candrapura	" "
Ajita and Sutārakā (Dig. Mahākāli)	Kānandinagara	" "
Brahmā and Aśokā (Dig. Mānavi)	Bhadrapura	" "
Yakṣeta and Mānavi (Dig. Īśvara and Gauri)	Siṁhapura	" "
Kumāra and Caṇḍā (Dig. Gāndhāri)	Campāpuri	Campāpurī
Ṣāṇmukha and Viditā (Dig. Vairoti)	Kampilyapura	Samēta Śikhara
Pātāla and Aṅkuśā (Dig. Anantamati)	Ayodhyā	" "
Kinnara and Kandarpā (Dig. Mānasi)	Ratnapuri	" "
Garuda and Nirvāni (Dig. Kimpuruṣa and Mahāmānasi)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	" "
Ghandarva and Balā (Dig. Vijayā)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	" "
Yakṣeta and Dhaṇā (Dig. Kendra and Ajitā)	Gajapura or Hastināpura	" "
Kubera and Dharaṇapriyā (Dig. Aparājitā)	Mathurā	" "
Varuṇa and Naradattā (Dig. Bahurūpiṇi)	Rājagṛhā	" "
Bhṛikuṭi and Gāndhārī (Dig. Cāmuṇḍi)	Mathurā	" "
Gōmēdha and Ambikā (Dig. Sarvāhṇa and Kūṣmāṇḍinī)	Samīpura	Girnār
Pārśvayakṣa or Dharaṇendra and Padmāvati	Benares	Samēta Śikhara
Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā	Kuṇḍagrāma	Pāvāpurī

* Reprinted from *The Heart of Jainism* by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (pp. 312-13).

SRI-GUPTA

[Inscriptions *versus* I-Tsing]

By C. S. K. Rao Sahib

"I-Tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in 671—695 A.D., mentions a great king (Maha-Raja) Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) who built a temple near Mriga-sikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims whose piety he had remarked. This temple the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the temple of China was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages. The foundation of the temple took place 'about 500 years before the writer's time" (Allen's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. xv).

Who was this Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta), patron of the Chinese pilgrims? Was he the same Gupta mentioned in the inscriptions —father of Ghatotkacha and grandfather of Chandra-Gupta I?

Fleet rejects this identification on the grounds that

(*a*) The former's name is Sri Gupta.

(*b*) I-Tsing's date would place him about 175 A.D. which is too early.

Allen tries to identify Chi-li-ki-to, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, with Gupta of inscriptions. He suggests that

(1) "Sri" need not necessarily be regarded as an integral part of the name and that Chinese writers frequently used it as an honorific.

(2) Allen admitting that the chronological difficulty is a serious one, yet satisfies himself that I-Tsing's statement is a vague one and should not be taken "too" literally and assumes that Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A.D. or about four centuries before I-Tsing. Considering the lapse of time, and the fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of "a statement handed down from ancient times by old men" Allen does not doubt the identification on chronological grounds.

(3) Another argument brought forward in favour of the identification is that the lands of the patron of the

Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory and it is unlikely that we should have had two different rulers, in the same territory, of the same name within so brief a period.

(4) Had Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) been an ancestor and not identical with Gupta of the inscriptions, he must have appeared in some genealogical lists.

It is sought to prove that Fleet was right in rejecting the identification on chronological grounds and that Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) is not Gupta of the inscriptions and I-Tsing's statement should be taken seriously and literally.

(A) There is no need to discuss about Fleet's rejection of the identification on the ground of mere name, that the former, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, was Sri-Gupta and the latter only Gupta.

(B) Fleet places the date of Sri-Gupta (Chi-li-ki-to) *circa* 175 A.D. evidently on the ground that I-Tsing came to India in 671 A.D. and it must have taken three or four years to learn about the existence of an old king who lived 500 years before his time. But Sri-Gupta's (Chi-li-ki-to) date ought to be placed to 191—192 A.D., *i.e.*, 500 years before I-Tsing's ***Composition of the Memoirs.*** Dr. Takakasu (***Translation of I-Tsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion****, etc.*, 1896, p. lix) places the date of the composition of the memoirs to 691—692 A.D. So 500 years before means 191—192 A.D. The Chinese appreciated "chronology" unlike the Hindus and they are generally "exact" writers. The Chinese pilgrim's statement was based on the authority "of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men". We will not be wrong in assuming that I-Tsing heard this tradition in the "Buddhist Monasteries" where he stayed for a number of years and that it was a ***Buddhist tradition.***

There is exactly a similar tradition among the Jains as recorded in Jinasena's *Harivamsa Purana* which was composed in Saka Era 705=783 A.D.

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषेक्ष्यते ।
लोकेऽवान्तिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥ ८३ ॥

षष्टिवर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभूभुजाम् ।
शतं च पञ्चपञ्चाशत् वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥ ८४ ॥
चत्वारिंशत् मुरुण्डानां भूमण्डलमखण्डितम् ।
त्रिंशत्तु पुष्यभिन्नानां षष्टिर्वस्वाग्निमित्रयोः ॥ ८५ ॥
शतंरासभराजानां नरवाहनमप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् ॥ ८६ ॥
भट्टबाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥ ८७ ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितं जयोराजास्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ ८८ ॥

—*Harivamsa Purana*, Ch. LX, quoted in *I.A.*, Vol. XV, p. 142.

According to this the Guptas' rule on this earth was 720 years after Mahāvīra's nirvāna, their rule lasting for 231 years. For Mahāvīra's nirvāna, the traditional date is 600—528 B.C., the date accepted by Rapson (*Ancient India*, p. 65). Whatever the true date of Mahāvīra's nirvāna may be, Jinasena accepts the traditional date 528 B.C.* According to him the Saka King was born 605 years, 7 months after Mahāvīra's nirvāna. Now the Saka Era began in 78 A.D. and the computation is accurate too that the traditional day of nirvāna is Dipāvali night, October and Saka Era began on the 1st Chaitra—March (see Pathak's articles in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 47, p. 19). So 720 years after nirvāna, says Jinasena, *i.e.*, 720−528=192 A.D. the Gupta rule began.

Both the Jain and Buddhist traditions refer to the same king. I-Tsing heard the existence of a king Sri-Gupta who ruled 500 years before his time=692—500=192 A.D. and Jinasena who composed his work in 783 A.D. (705 Saka) refers to the Guptas as having begun their rule 720 years after Mahāvīra's nirvāna; *i.e.*, according to Jinasena 720—528=192 A.D. and he is nearly a century later than I-Tsing. How could two independent traditions—one a century later than the other—refer to a king who ruled exactly in the same year **192** A.D.? The

* वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पञ्चाभ्यां मासपञ्चकम् ।
मुक्तिंगतिमहावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥

conclusion is justifiable that they refer to the same king. "We may reasonably believe in the accuracy of a statement if it is supported by all the three available literary sources, Brahmin, Jain and Buddhist, since it is almost certain that no borrowings has taken place between them."* Here in this case at least two sources agree, Buddhist and Jain.

Allen's identification of Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta) with Gupta of inscriptions ought to be rejected in the light of the above.

The sources of, or original authorities for, the early history of India may be arranged in four classes :

(1) The first of these is "*tradition* chiefly as recorded in native literature".

(2) Allen's assumption that "Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A.D. or about four centuries before I-Tsing wrote" has really no basis.

(3) Allen's contention "that it is unlikely we should have had two different rulers of the same name in the same territory within so brief a period" will have to be now examined. Sri-Gupta, the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, ruled *circa* 192 A.D. Gupta of the inscriptions, according to V. A. Smith (*I.A.*, 1902, p. 258), ruled from 275 to 300 and Allen accepts it as approximately correct. So nearly eighty-three years elapse between the two. Is it not a sufficiently long period for at least three generations of rulers to have ruled? For example Chandra-Gupta I began his reign in 319 A.D. and Chandra-Gupta II, Vikramaditya his grandson ascended the throne about 380 A.D. according to Allen. Only sixty-one years elapse between two accessions and we have two sovereigns of the same name ruling in the same territory—why should not two Guptas rule in the same territory within a "short time" of eighty-three years?

(4) Allen's last point that "if the Gupta mentioned by I-Tsing had been an ancestor and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some genealogical lists" will now be

* Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 70.

examined. Let us take two genealogical lists from the inscriptions.—

महाराज श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज श्री घटोत्कच पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि दौहित्रस्य महादेव्याम् कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य ॥ (Lines 28-29, All. Pillar Ins.)

सर्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज श्री घटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि दौहित्रस्य महादेव्याम् कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्र स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्त-त्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री पुरगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-दानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीवत्सदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज श्री नरसिंहगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्रीमतीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्तः ॥ (*J.A.S.B.*, 1889, Pt. 1, p. 89.)

A careful study will show that the descent is traced to Samudra Gupta, the real founder of the empire and the family's greatness. The name of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather Chandra-Gupta I, Ghatotkacha and Gupta are mentioned in connection with his name only, according to the Hindu practice. "Maharaja Sri Gupta Prapautrasya", "Maharaja Sri Ghatotkacha Pautrasya", "Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandra Guptasya Putra", etc., are therefore mere epithets of Samudra Gupta as the other well-known epithets like "Kritanta Parasu", "Asvamedha Parakrama", etc., are. There is no room to expect any other predecessor's name in the genealogical lists. If and when inscriptions belonging to earlier reigns than Samudra Gupta's are recovered, the names of the earlier Gupta kings will be then known. The identification of Chi-li-ki-to (Sri-Gupta), the patron of the Chinese pilgrims, with the Gupta of inscriptions has to be rejected. Who was this Sri-Gupta then and what was his relationship with other Guptas? That he was the founder of the Gupta dynasty, Jinasena clearly informs us. As for his relationship with the other Guptas, an attempt might be made to construct the genealogical tree.

Sri-Gupta (Chi-li-ki-to) who may be called Gupta I was ruling *circa* 192 A.D. Chandra-Gupta I ascends the throne in 320 A.D. Between these two dates 128 years elapse. From the accession of Chandra-Gupta I in 320 A.D. to 455 A.D. when Kumara Gupta I died, 135 years elapse, four generations of emperors ruling, with an average of about 32 years, 3 months for each emperor. Similarly accepting four reigns for 128 years, and giving each an average of 32 years, and going backward from the known to the unknown the dates may be provisionally fixed as follows:—

Ghatotkacha 288—320 A.D., Gupta 256—286, Nameless king 224—256, Gupta I (Chi-li-ki-to) 192—224. The genealogical tree will then be:

(Chi-li-ki-to Sri-Gupta)—Gupta I—192-224 A.D.
|
His son—224-256 A.D.
|
(of Inscriptions)—Gupta II—256-288 A.D.
|
Ghatotkacha—288-320 A.D.
|
Chandra-Gupta I—
(Maharajadhiraja).

Most likely the Gupta of inscriptions, Gupta II, was named after his grandfather Gupta I just as Chandra-Gupta II Vikramaditya was named after his grandfather Chandra-Gupta I.

STUDIES IN THE INDUS SCRIPTS

By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.

I

It has been the fashion to assume, following the lead of Sir John Marshall, that the Indus culture was non-Āryan, on the grounds that the Āryans had no knowledge of towns, used horses and defensive armour and held the cow, and not the bull, sacred. The Āryans also apparently had no image-worship or that of the phallus. On such slender and mostly negative evidence, it is concluded that the Indus culture was pre-Āryan.

Leaving aside the fact that *pūrs* were known as strongholds of the Dāsas, it is clear, as urged by Prof. S. V. Venkaṭēśvara (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916) that some of the Vēdic deities were conceived as anthropomorphic and it is not impossible that figurines of the Earth Goddess or Agni were employed in ritual. The figure of a horse has recently been discovered at Mohenjo-Dāro and therefore it cannot be urged that the Indus culture was pre-Āryan. Nor can we urge a later date because domesticated horses were employed in Sumēr a thousand years earlier than usually supposed. The excavations at Khafaje have revealed a plaque depicting a king leading a chariot drawn by four horses (*Illustrated London News*, October 8, 1932). Moreover the chariots found in Sindh are exactly of the same type as described in the Ṛg-vēda. The axle and the wheels were made of the same block and the axle turned with the wheels (*Ṛg.*, I. 166. 9). The horse was not indigenous to Mesopotamia and was imported from the East probably from the Sindh and Punjab. It is equally illogical to assume that the bull was not held in as high an esteem as the cow by the Āryans, for we find in the Vēdic hymns, the comparison with the bull employed almost *ad nauseam*. To give only a few instances :

आवाम् रथः वृषभिर्यातु अश्वैः ॥ (Ṛg., VII. 69. 1)
सः वृषा वृषभाभुवत् ॥ (Ṛg., VIII. 93. 7)
एव इदिंद्राय वृषभाय वृष्णे अकर्मवृगवः नरथम् ॥ (IV. 16. 20)
नि शुष्णे इन्द्र धर्णथिं वज्रं जघथदस्यवि ।
वृषाहि उग्र शृण्विषे ॥ (Ṛg., VIII. 6. 14)

In *Ṛg.*, I. 177. 3; II. 16. 6; V. 36. 5; V. 40. 2, etc., Vṛṣa is employed merely for the sake of Śabdālaṁkāra. Agni, Indra, Aśvins, Viṣṇu, Ṛbhus, Rudra are all styled Vṛṣas (I. 54. 2, etc.). Vṛṣa is also the name of a king (I. 36. 10).

The existence of the worship of the Aśvattha is not necessarily non-Āryan. The Aśvattha is probably connected with horse-stables (*aśva-saṁstha*) and was the abode of the Maruts whose chariots were drawn by horses or deer (अश्वपर्णैः रथेभिः—*Ṛg.*, I. 88. 1). The tree was also the dwelling-place of the Gandharvas, Varuṇa and Agni.

ब्रह्म वै पर्णः विद्मरुतः अन्नम् विट्मारुतोऽश्वत्थः ॥ (*Tai.*, III. 5. 7)
अश्वो रूपं कृत्वा यदश्वत्थेतिष्ठः । संवत्सरं देवेभ्योनिलाय ॥
(*Tai. Br.*, I. 2. 5)

In the Chhāndōgya, the Araṇyāyana sacrifice is called the Aśvattha.

अरश्चहवैण्यश्चार्णवौ ब्रह्मलोके तृतीयस्यामितोदिवि तदैरंमदीयं सरः ।
तदश्वत्थः, सोमसवनः, तदपराजिता, पूः ब्रह्मणः स्वयंभुर्विमितं हिरण्मयम्॥

In the Kaṭha and the Gīta, the tree is compared to the eternal *saṃsāra.*

ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक्शाखः एषोश्वत्थः सनातनः ॥ etc.

On the Indus seals, the Aśvattha figures along with the heads of deer and is thus probably connected with Maruts (who were the sons of Rudra) or with Agni (one form of Rudra—त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महोदिवः). Even now in the popular mind, the Vālakhilyas are supposed to reside in the leaves of the Aśvattha tree and Śiva at the top (अग्रतः शिवरूपाय).

Thus we see that there is not a shred of positive evidence to prove that the Indus culture is pre-Āryan. There is no consensus of opinion about the date of the composition of the Vēdic hymns. Neither do the human remains at Mohenjo-Dāro

give us data to solve the problem, as all the four types—Proto-Austroloid, Mediterranean, Mongolian branch of the' Alpine stock and the Alpine are found and it is observed that cremation was also prevalent.

The apparent affinity with Dravidian cultures (through the Brāhui as connecting link and the resemblances sought in pottery, jewellery, phallic worship, etc.) is not conclusively proved. Nor can we assert that writing was unknown to the Vēdic people, as expressions like अष्टकर्णी गौः etc. indicate that some kind of markings, if not numerals, were employed. Even granting the Tāntric origin of Brāhmī, it does not at all follow that Tāntric cults are necessarily a-vaidik, for Tāntric writers unanimously claim Vēdic authority. The evidence of philology too is inconclusive. It is interesting to note, however, these Sumerian affinities with Dravidian and Saṁskṛt:

SUMERIAN		SAMSKṚT	DRAVIDIAN
		A	
A	(water)	*Ap*; *Anbhas*	
Abba	(father)		*Appa*
Apzu	(deep)	*Ap-su*	
Adda	(old man)	*Vṛddha*	
Ag	(to send, order)		*Āgu* (? become)
Al	(to weep)		*Aḷu*
Am	(wild ox)		*Emmai* *Erumai*
Ama	(mother)	*Ambā* (?)	*Ammā*
A-na	(what ?)		*Ēnu*, *Enna*
Kuś-Asi	(whip)	*Kaśā*	
Asilal	(gladness)	(*Āhlā-da*)	
		B	
Ba	(divide)	*Bhaj*	
Bad	(high)	*Bṛhad*	
Bal	(hew, cleave)	*Bala*	
Banda	(strong)	*Bandha*	
Bar (1)	(open)	√*Vār* (*Dvāra*)	
Bar (2)	(shine)	*Bhrāj*	

SUMERIAN		SAMSKRT	DRAVIDIAN
		D	
Da	(side, arm)	*Dōr*, *da*-to give	
Dag	(escape)		*Dāgu* (hide)
Dam	(husband or wife)	*Dam-pati*	
Dam-ha-ra	(battle)	*Samhāra*, *Samgara*	
Dim (2)	(pillar)	(*Stambha ?*)	(*Dimbu*)
Dirig	(exceeding great)	*Dīrgha*	
Dub (2)	(pour out, heap)	*Stūpa*	
		E	
E (1)	(water course)		*Eri*, *Ēru*
E (2)	(go up, rise)		*Ēḷ*
En	(until)		*Endu*
E-en	(till when)		*Enthe*
		G	
Ga	(milk)	[*Gō*-cow]	
Gam	(to bend, crouch)	[*Gam*-to go]	
Gidru	(staff, sceptre)	[*Gadā*]	
Gu (2)	(neck)		*Gōṇ*
Gud	(bull, ox)	[*Gō*]	
Gur	(to raise, exalt)	*Guru* (heavy, high)	
		H	
Har	(limit, decrease)	*Har*-destroy, steal	
Hal	(destroy)		*Pāḷu*
		I	
Igi	(eye)	*Aksha*	
Il	(to lift)		*Eḷtu*
Ilu	(cry)		*Aḷu*
		K	
Ka	(mouth, face)	*Kam* (head)	
Kalga	(strong)	*Kali*	
Kid	(cut off)	*Chhid*	*Kaḍi*
Ki-in-dar	(cleft in ground)	*Kandara* (cave)	
Kiśi	(forelock)	*Kēśa*	

SUMERIAN		SAṀSKṚT	DRAVIDIAN
		K	
Kur (2)	(land, hill)	*Ku* (earth) *Kudhra* (hill)	
Kuś	(skin, leathern bottle)	*Kōśa*	
		M	
Mah	(high, exalted)	*Mahat*	
Mul	(star)	*Mūla*	
		N	
Nagar	(craftsman, carpenter)	[*Nagara*-city]	
Nu	(no)	*Na*	
Ne-ha	(peaceful, secure)	*Snēha*	*Nē-ha*
		P	
Par	(spread)		*Paraḍu*
Patesi	(governor)	*Prādēśika*	
		S	
Sun	(decay, ruin)	*Śūnya*	
Śu	(hand)		(*Chey*, *Kai*)
Śul	(strong one)	*Śūra*	
		T	
Tab	(to burn)	√ *Tap*	
Tag	(to touch)		*Tāgu*
Tar	(cut, tear, open)		*Tari*
Tuk	(take)		*lege*
		U	
Ud	(sun, light, day)	*Ut* (sun) *Udaya* (light)	
Udu	(sheep)		*āḍu*
Ug	(lion)	[*Vyāghra*, *Ugra*]	
Um-ma	(old woman, mother)		*Amma*
Ur	(leg)	*Ūru* (thigh)	
Uru (1)	(city)	[*Pūr*]	*Ūru*
Uru (2)	(engrave)		*Orc* (to write,
		Z	
Zag	(side)	*Śākhā*	
Zal	(to be bright)	*Jvāla*	

Vik.°	Glo.°	Vik.°	Glo.°

Vik.°	Khar.°

S.S.S.

It is perhaps possible to produce as many Sumerian words that have resemblance to Saṁskṛt as to the Dravidian languages and therefore the linguistic evidence is not at all conclusive. The Indus script seems to be as little adapted to the classical Dravidian languages as to Saṁskṛt and Sumerian. Thus we have to suspend judgment about the non-Āryan character of the Indus Civilization, till some more positive evidence is forthcoming.

FIRE-ORDEALS

[Parallelism in the Ramayana and European History]

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ONE of the most touching legends narrated in that great Indian Epic—the *Rāmāyana*—is that which describes how Sītā, the wife of the semi-divine hero Rāmachandra, underwent the fire-ordeal to prove her chastity when her husband became suspicious about the purity of her character. This incident came about under the following circumstances:—

After Rāma had conquered the demon-king Rāvaṇa and killed him, Sītā went to her husband Rāmachandra and fell at his feet, weeping tears of gladness at his victory. He was moved with pity; but his manner was cold and stern. Thereupon his brother Lakshmaṇa said: "Look, brother. There is your wife, young and beautiful, her eyes shining with tears of joy. Have you no words of welcome for her?"

"My enemies are slain," said Rāma, "and you are free, Sītā! *But I do not wish to see you anymore. I cannot take you back as my wife.*"

"*Alas!*" cried Sītā, "*Would that I were dead. But I am guiltless; yet better death than doubts.*" And turning to Lakshmaṇa, she cried, "*Build me a funeral pyre that I may end my sufferings amidst the flames.*"

A great pile of boughs was built up. *Then Sītā prayed to Agni, the god of fire, and said, "O Agni, who seest our good and our evil deeds, may this flame show that in thought and act I have been faithful; may it prove that the lying reports that have been spread about me are false." Fearlessly she climbed the pyre, the flames were applied to it, and, while all around sorrowed, Sītā vanished.* Then cried Rāma, "I have sinned, for Sītā was guiltless."

Then a great miracle happened. *The red flames of the pyre were divided, and the god Agni came forth bearing Sītā in his arms. He walked up to Rāma, and, placing Sītā in his arms, said: "Take thy wife, who is without sin or shame."*

Accordingly Rāma received Sītā and went back with her to Ayodhya.

In this case, we find that Agni, the god of fire, himself interfered and testified to the fact that Sītā was immaculate and pure.

We should now search and try to find whether, in the history of any other country in the world, incidents parallel or analogous to Sītā's fire-ordeal, are recorded. Fortunately, we have not to seek far afield for the same. We find that two such incidents are recorded in European history.

In the 9th century A.D., Charles the Fat, Roman Emperor and the King of the West Franks, was convinced of the innocence and purity of his wife Richardis by the result of a fire-ordeal which she had to undergo.

Then again, in ancient England also, this mode of trial by fire-ordeal was prevalent, for *Queen Emma was reported to have walked over red-hot ploughshares for the purpose of proving her innocence.*

Unfortunately, in the case of Queen Richardis, the historian has not told us about the mode of the fire-ordeal she had to undergo. *Most likely, she also had to walk over red-hot embers or iron.*

In my paper entitled: "*A Note on the Prevalence of the Hot-Iron Ordeal in Modern Bengal,*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIII, pp. 276-279, I have shown that the mode of trial by the fire-ordeal is also prevalent in Bengal even at the present day. In the case referred to therein, a woman named Mahārājin was accused of being unchaste and was called upon to prove her chastity by holding in her hand a hot iron ball weighing 10 *seers*. The arbitrators, who called upon her to undergo this ordeal, stated that if her hands would remain unburnt by the hot iron ball, her chastity would be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. But as the woman's father Gopāl Giri did not agree to this proposal, his caste-fellows ex-communicated him. Hence arose the criminal case referred to in my afore-mentioned paper.

Now arises the question: Why were fire-ordeals resorted to in ancient times (and are had recourse to even at the present day) for the purpose of proving the innocence or otherwise of an accused person?

In answer to this question, we should say that it was a cardinal article of belief among the ancients that, if a person was charged with the commission of an offence, his guilt or innocence might be proved by subjecting him to undergo certain operations, such as holding a red-hot iron with the hand, or diving under water and remaining there for some time, and the like. The accused agreed to undergo the said operations in the belief that the deity would interfere in the matter and enable him to prove his innocence by passing through the ordeal unaffected in any way. This belief was based on two facts, namely, *firstly*, on the superstitious belief in the possibility of receiving divine aid and, *secondly*, on the absence, among most of the ancients, of a system of jurisprudence prescribing rules for the recording of evidence and well-defined procedure for enquiring into, and adjudicating upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. In fact, Mr. Isaac Disraeli very pertinently observes that "ordeals are the rude laws of a barbarous people who have not yet obtained a written code, and not advanced enough in civilization to enter into the refined enquiries, the subtle distinctions, and elaborate investigations which a court of law demands."

But the age of miracles has passed away; and the gods do not come and interfere to prove the innocence of accused persons, as Agni, the god of fire, had done in the case of Sītā.

As for Queens Richardis and Emma, they had to walk over hot embers and iron ploughshares. Therefore, the question arises: How were they enabled to do so, as the gods did not come and assist them in undergoing these ordeals?

The solution to this question must be sought for in the facts that (*a*) either the soles of their feet had been so hardened by walking bare-footed that they easily walked over the hot cinders or irons without their feet being burnt in any way;

(*b*) or that the soles of their feet had been anointed with some ointment to make them fire-proof; (*c*) or that their feet had been covered up with some sort of leafy covering which prevented them from being burnt.

On these points, a writer in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* says:—" Mediæval law laid down that innocence was proved by the suspect walking unharmed over the embers of *pipal*-wood glowing in an excavation nine hands long, by one span deep, by two spans broad; *a feat not difficult of accomplishment, really, to a race accustomed to covering the soles of their feet to the consistency of rhinoceros-hide by invariably moving bare-foot.*"

" Nine hands are equivalent to three and a half yards, a distance which would require a maximum of three steps to traverse. I saw the ordeal performed by a party of strolling players in Chota-Nagpur some few years ago, and I can assure the reader that they negotiated a pit considerably longer than the ten and a half feet prescribed by ancient law."*

As regards the Bengali woman Mahārājin, I am inclined to think that, if her father had agreed to the proposal that she should prove her chastity by holding in her hand, a hot iron ball weighing 10 *seers*, her hands would, in all probability, have been, first of all, rubbed with rice, and then, covered with seven leaves of the *pipal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), as prescribed by the ancient law-giver—Yājnavalkya.

It goes without saying that the rubbing of the hands with rice-paste and, then, the tying of seven leaves of the *pipal*-tree, one upon the other, with a thread upon the hands, would make the latter limb immune from being burnt by the red-hot iron ball placed thereupon.

Now arises the question: Why are the *pipal*-leaves tied upon the hands of the person undergoing the fire-ordeal?

The answer to this question lies in the fact that, since the Sutra Period, the Hindus have ascribed sanctity to the *pipal*-tree. In the *Gobhila Grihya Sūtra*, the *Aśvattha* or *Pipal*

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* *Vide* the article entitled: " *Indian Trials by Ordeal* " in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* of 15th May 1932.

(*Ficus religiosa*) is described as a tree presided over by Āditya, who is identified by Yaska with Vishṇu. In later times, therefore, the *Aśvattha* came to be regarded as a tree especially sacred to Vishṇu, and so Krishṇa declares himself in the *Bhagavad Gitā* to be the *Aśvattha* amongst all trees.

It is for the foregoing reason that the Hindus believed that the leaves of the *pipal*-tree were imbued with the essence or divine afflatus of the god Vishṇu (the Preserver); and it was under the influence of this belief that they tied seven *pipal*-leaves (one upon the other) upon the hands of the accused person in order that Vishṇu's essence would prevent the latter's hands from being burnt by the red-hot iron in case he was really innocent.

CHAKKIYAR-KŪTTU OF KERALA

By K. Ramavarma Raja, B.A.

Who are the Chakkiyars and what is Kūttu? Both are fully described as follows in the *Cochin Census Report* of 1901 (pp. 147-48):

"*Chakkiyars.*—The name is supposed to be a corrupt form of *Slāghyar* (men of respectability). The Chakkiyars were originally Paradesis belonging to the *Sūta* caste, that is, a caste the members of which were born of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. The tradition is that a family of this caste migrated to the Kerala in very ancient times. When the family was about to become extinct the issue of an adulterous Brahman woman born during the period of her criminal intimacy with other caste males, but before detection, was adopted into the family and came to be recognized as a separate caste. They study *Ithihāsas* and *Purāṇas* and expound the same by means of oral lectures known as *Chakkiyar-Kūth* which is a permanent institution in some temples. They are often delivered at the instance of votaries in pursuance of vows made. The Chakkiyar chooses some texts from some Sanskrit works—such compositions are called *Prabandhams*—and expound them with a freedom of speech scarcely allowed to any other person, or to himself at any other time or place."

There are eminent Sanskrit scholars and eloquent speakers among them. By custom they enjoy complete immunity from retort or punishment. They criticise men and measures without any reserve or censorship, and their interesting and instructive lectures always attract large audiences. In the old days when the editor and the reporter were altogether unknown, the Chakkiyar "assumed the rôle of critic and exponent of public opinion, and made his discourses the means of giving instructive lessons, political, religious or moral. There are also clever actors amongst them. They are paid

a small fee for their discourses. Their women are called *Illōtammas*. Their pollution extends for 11 days."

"*Chakkiyar-Nambiyars.*—They are also alleged to be the issue of unholy connections. The males beat a drum of a peculiar shape at intervals during the discourses or acting of the Chakkiyars, while their females called *Nangiyars* keep time. Both the Nambiyar and Nangiyar get a small fee for the work they do. The Nangiyars also assume the figure of mythical characters and perform a sort of pantomime on the Chakkiyar's stage. The bastards (boys and girls) become Chakkiyar and Illōtamma, or Chakkiyar-Nambiyar and Nangiyar according as the issue of the adulterous Nambudri woman are accepted and fed by a Chakkiyar, or Chakkiyar-Nambiyar."

It may be further added here that the Chakkiyar's performance takes place only in the temple premises and before a lighted oil lamp and therefore is a sacred function or ceremonial: and hence differs much from the modern Bhajana or Kalakshepam entertainment which is more social. Further, the Chakkiyar's discourse is scholarly while the latter is more musical. His audience proper consists of Brahmans seated in front and facing him from the opposite side of the burning lamp in the midway between, and also, perhaps, of some other thread-wearing high caste Hindus seated farther away behind the front rows. Others sit or stand still further away as they deserve. Women are screened from his view. His toilette or make-up is very simple yet comic in which he also appears on the stage to deliver the introductory prologue of the drama and to act the part of 'fool' in it.

That the Chakkiyar of Kerala who is a thread-wearing Hindu but of a lower order—Ambalavasi or temple servant—is professionally akin to the Purāṇic *Sūta* of Āryan India may be shown by a comparison with contrast of their respective modes of delivering discourses as practised and described in authoritative works. Both occupy high seats—higher than those of their Brahman or Rishi audience who sit or squat on the floor in front; and are free from the social obligation to

rise and salute any visitor, however distinguished he may be during the discourse. But, unlike the Sūta who coula study and quote the Purāṇic texts in explanation or narration of his story, the Chakkiyar can cite or recite the modern secular Sanskrit works only in support of his discourse on the Purāṇic theme. It was the Sūta's privileges of higher seat and freedom from the social etiquette of making obeisance to a distinguished visitor that enraged Bala-Rāma when he, as a pilgrim, entered the august sacrificial assembly of the Vedic Sages or Rishis of old, and prompted him to kill the Sūta on the spot—a very rash and hasty action for which he deeply and sincerely repented afterwards on their strong remonstrance (*Bhāgavata*, P. X, 78, 23, 31). A great and elaborate sacrificial ceremonial lasting long was evidently an occasion chosen in ancient Āryan period for professional Purāṇic lectures in leisure hours perhaps. This was the Sūta's rôle in the real Āryan India. Later on, when the Vedic religion was declining, important temple festivals lasting several days, called '*Utsavams*' which are very common in South India, have become the grand occasions for the Purāṇic discourses which have survived in Keraḷa to this day as 'Chakkiyar-Kūttu'. The Chakkiyar explains the appropriate Sanskrit texts and relates the Purāṇic story in the vernacular of the country (Malayāḷam). Hence his discourse is a "*Maṇi-pravāḷam*," *i.e.*, a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayāḷam. Chakkiyar-Kūttu therefore seems to be an Āryan institution adapted to the Keraḷa conditions.

The Chakkiyars are also professional actors (Āryan Naṭās) whose performance on the stage is called Kūtiyāṭṭam (= Kūti-āṭṭam) a joint performance in which more characters than one appear on the stage. Here also the jester or fool (*Vidūshaka*) speaks in Malayāḷam and quotes special vernacular compositions suitable to the context and occasion. In this way the plays of Harsha, Bhāsa, etc., are acted on the Keraḷa stage even now in the old antique style. In certain temples this also is an item of its routine services. These dramatic performances also, like the Purāṇic discourse or Kūttu, are limited

to the sacred temple premises. Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam are either common or special items of temple services throughout Keraḷa, but they are, it must be specially noted, never allowed to be performed in the well-known important Śaiva temple at Tiruvanchakulam at Cranganore—the capital of the ancient Chera Kingdom known also as 'Mahōdayapuram'—(even now mourning?).[1] I may repeat here what I have stated elsewhere[2] in support of a suggestion of the possible or probable northern origin of this name 'Mahōdaya'. "According to Vincent Smith the city of Kanauj was known as 'Mahōdaya'. It was the flourishing capital and seat of learning in Northern India during the reigns of Harsha in the seventh century, and of Bhōja and Mahendrapāla in the ninth and the tenth centuries.[3] Again the same authority giving an account of the Saisunāga dynasty of the kings of Magadha makes mention of King Udaya (fourth from Bimbisāra) as the founder of the city of Kusumapura or Pāṭalīputra (451 B.C.), and adds that the name *Udaya* has variant forms 'Udayana, Udayāsva, etc.' Udayana, King of Vatsa, was another King Udaya of the previous generation (Ch. II, pp. 36, 38, 39 and 48).

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"It is well known that Kanauj and Ujjain were the enlightened cities of early India with which the South Indian kingdoms of the day were in constant communication for exchange of treasures in literature, science and art. This free and friendly intercourse was probably the outcome of, and even prompted by, the then prevailing Hindu Buddhist brotherhood. So the plays of Harsha, Bhāsa, etc., were very popular on the stage in ancient Keraḷa; and they are being acted here even now in the traditional antique manner. This would suggest the northern origin of the Udaya cities here." The above quotation is intended to indicate the sources from

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[1] For the Chakkiyars say that their final and concluding performance at the advanced and corrupt stage of Kaliyuga will take place here.

[2] "Comparative Studies,": "the two ancient and extinct Udaya cities and their suburbs".—*Ernakulam College Magazine*, July 1924.

[3] *Early History of India*, pp. 377 and 380 foot note.

which and the period during which South India derived the Āryan culture or the South Indian culture was Āryanised.

The Āryan dramas seem to have been acted under public or royal patronage in the ancient Choḷa kingdom also as early as the tenth century when it, led by its great ruler Rāja Rāja I (991—1012 A.D.), began to expand and absorb the neighbouring kingdoms of Chera, Pāṇḍya, etc., to form a great empire which continued to flourish for some centuries more. For we find in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (1924-25) the following summary of the epigraphical records collected in the Southern Circle[4] :—

"Of the stone epigraphs collected in the Southern Circle some are connected with dances and theatrical performances given in temples on festive occasions. An inscription of Rāja Rāja I (991-1012 A.D.) dated in his ninth year comes from Tiruvāduturai and records a gift of land by the assembly of Śāttaṇūr for enacting the seven *aṅgas* of a drama in the style of the Ārya-Kūṭṭu on the festival day in the month of Puraṭṭāsi and also makes provision for the supply of rice-flour, betel leaves as well as areca nuts and ghee for mixing collyrium and turmeric in connection with the performance. A later inscription of the time of Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga Chola makes provision for the maintenance of a theatre called Navavidha-naṭa Śālai which goes to show that in the ancient Choḷa temples various kinds of dances and acting were largely patronised as early as the tenth century." (Pp. 120-21.)

The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1925 briefly gives the purports of these inscriptions on pages 26 and 29 from which it is very clear that the expression "seven *aṅgas*" used above stand for "seven *aṅkas*", *i.e.*, Acts, of a drama as in the Sanskrit drama each Act is called an *Aṅka*. Ancient Keraḷa and Choḷa or Tamil land had this institution of "acting Āryan drama" in common as early as the tenth century. Whether it had an

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[4] I do very thankfully acknowledge here my deep indebtedness to the Secretary and the Curator, Mythic Society, for supply of these extracts.

earlier existence or recognition in the former along with Chakkiyar-Kūttu or Purāṇic discourse, whether both had received it from the northern source simultaneously, or whether one had borrowed it from the other—*i.e.*, the cultural relationship between ancient Keraḷa and Choḷa—will be presently discussed not with a view to a final decision but rather for the consideration of eminent scholars.

In course of his 'Chathu Panikkar Endowment' Lectures delivered on the 21st and 22nd February 1930 at the Ernakulam College and reproduced in the *College Magazine* for March 1930 (pp. 121-130) Mahākavi Ullūr S. Parameśwara Ayyar, a learned scholar and retired Diwan Peshkar of Travancore, has stated as follows:—"Chakkiyar-Kūṭṭu is a source of entertainment peculiar to Keraḷa and it is as old as the beginning of the Christian era. A reference to it is found in *Chilappadikaram*, the great Tamil work of Ilaṅko-Adikal, the younger brother of Chenkuttuvan, one of the ancient Perumals (Chera Kings) of Keraḷa. This work was composed at Kuṇavayil which is the modern Trikkanamatilakam of the Cochin State." Herein we meet with a slight error that would not affect the main issue, and yet it is an error that must be corrected. Modern Trikkanamatilakam is not situated within the Cochin State, but outside the State in the Ponnani Taluk of the British Malabar District.

Chakkiyar-Kūttu or Purāṇic discourse, as has been stated above, is a temple institution generally associated with temple festivals. Was temple or image worship prevalent in the early centuries of the Christian era? The pre-Buddhistic religion was the Vedic Hinduism and the post-Buddhistic religion is the Purāṇic Hinduism "the distinctive feature of which in the matter of observance is image worship." "The temples and images," says Dutt, "however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century A.D. they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent supplanted the ancient form of worship. In the literature of the sixth to the eighth century A.D. we seldom read of sacrifices except those performed by kings, while Kāḷidāsa and

other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there." Kāḷidāsa's age may be pushed back by a century or a little more. Yet the Purāṇic Hinduism with its distinctive feature of idol worship cannot be said to have existed in general practice in the early centuries of the Christian era. The period assigned to it by Dutt was 500-1191 A.D. (*Ancient India*, Bk. V, Ch. V). Then again, the Chakkiyar's fluent speech explaining the Purāṇic topic is delivered in the mother tongue of the country, the Malayāḷam language which, it is generally held, had not attained to the position of an independent literary language in the early centuries of the Christian era. His action on the stage—beginning with the introductory prologue and including the fool's part—is enlivened with suitable Malayāḷam sayings and verses which are said to have been composed for the purpose by one Tolan—a Brahman poet and humorist of the Court of Cheraman Perumāḷ or the Perumāḷ ruler of Keraḷa. The authors of the plays acted on the Keraḷa stage, *e.g.*, Harsha and Śaktibhadra—Bhāsa's date is still in dispute—belonged to the latter half of the first millennium of the Christian era which was the golden age of the Sanskrit classical literature. If, therefore, there is a clear and unmistakable reference to Chakkiyar-Kūttu in the so-called Tamil Sangam work *Chilappadikaram*, its date along with that of its companion work *Maṇimekhalai* has to be brought down to this age. But I do not at all mean by this that the events of the story related in these Tamil classics are also to be assigned to this later age. The story is, no doubt, older and traditional and belongs to the first or second century A.D., although it has been embodied in the classical works of this later age. The claim of contemporaneity of the authors with their heroes might be intended for establishment of the authenticity of their works. Or, a still better explanation would be that works composed later than the traditions embodied therein might be assigned to the traditional contemporary writers for the same purpose.

The reference in the *Tamil* classical work to Chakkiyar-Kūttu in the ancient Chera country or Keraḷa may lead us to

the inevitable inference that along with it his action of the Āryan dramas on the stage also was prevalent at the time, and that these two Āryan institutions were not known in the *Tamil* kingdoms proper—Choḷa and Pāṇḍya at that time or prior to the tenth century A.D. It was probably Rāja Rāja I, the founder of the great Choḷa Empire, who introduced and established what was known as *Ārya-Kūttu* including, possibly, the action on the stage as well as the Purāṇic discourse in the Choḷa country by permanent endowments such as the grants of lands for the same as the one registered in the inscription of his ninth year. This patronage was continued by his successors, too, as is shown by subsequent inscriptions. The flow of Āryan civilization and culture from Northern India to the South, begun in the reign of Aśoka or earlier, seems to have assumed the proportions of a flood by the fifth century A.D., during the reign of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya and thereafter having been further reinforced by the freshes received during the reigns of Harsha, Bhoja, etc., from the seventh to tenth centuries passed through several channels to the several countries in the south and Āryanised them all to a greater or less extent. But the main course carrying the greatest volume seems to have reached and emptied itself at the post of Cranganore, the Chera capital and the Mahōdaya City of the south—the offspring or counterpart of the Northern Mahōdaya City of Kanauj—then flourishing with diverse foreign settlements, enterprises, trades and civilizations, and the most suitable centre for receiving and distributing foreign produces brought to the south including the elements or materials of Āryan culture and civilization brought down from the north. When Rāja Rāja the Great subjugated the Chera country by physical force about the end of the tenth century A.D., the latter in return conquered him and his country—the Choḷa kingdom—by her superior cultural force. It was in this way, it seems to me, that the peculiar Āryan institutions of Keraḷa—Chakkiyar-Kūttu and Ārya-Kūttu—had found their way into the Choḷa country by the end of the tenth century A.D. This

generalization or hypothesis is rather vague and tentative and requires further clarification and precision.

It may be admitted in conclusion that in this study I too may have lost my historical sense and balance and over-estimated the past greatness of Cranganore which is my home.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

By N. Subba Rau, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 115*)

As regards Jainism, it is significant to note that Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar while equally solicitous for its welfare as well, never brought himself under the influence of that religion, as has been alleged.[174] We may point out some instances in this connection. He supported[175] his Jaina minister Vishālāksha Pandit in overcoming the opponents of the latter's religion, and allowed him to conserve Jaina monuments in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa and perform with great *éclat* the *Mastakapūja* to Gommateśvara in 1679. He permitted[176] his mint-master Aṇṇiah to preserve Jainism in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa and to construct a pond (kalyāṇi) there, named after him (*Chikkadevarāyakalyāṇi*).[177] He also made a grant[178] of lands to Sakkare Seṭṭi for the erection of Vimalanātha Chaityālaya, while his own Queens[179] made gifts to monuments in the State.

Under the successors (1704-1761) of Chikkadevarāja, the ideas of the previous period formed part and parcel of a synthetic religious culture. The religious proclivities of the rulers found expression in a greater degree than ever, as can be gathered from the numerous grants at the period. The cults of Śiva and Vishṇu, followed by the rulers and their[180] subjects alike, were at the height of glory and prosperity during the period, while respect for traditions and toleration of other religions continued as before to dominate the minds of the rulers. Krishṇarāja I, in 1723, made a grant[181] of

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174 Wilks, *Mysore*, I, Ch. IV, pp. 107, 220-222 (New Edn.).

175 *Beḷgoḷada Gommaṭeśvara Charitre*, pp. 100-109.

176 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

177 *Gommateśvara Charitre*, *loc. cit.*, *E.C.*, II, SB. 365.

178 *E.C.*, IV (2) Ng. 43.

179 *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23; *E.C.*, IV (2) SR. 305; XII, M.I. 15, etc.

180 See under *Social Life*, next section of this work.

181 *E.C.*, II, SB. 249.

Sarvamānya villages to the *Jinadharma* of Beḷagoḷa, for the worship and festivals of Gommateśvara and the upkeep of a feeding house there. Similarly, grants[182] were made by Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II to Akal Shah, Ataval Shah and the maṭha of Kādir Shah Saheb in 1759-60, for the maintenance of *fakir dharma*.

(*b*) *Manifestation.*—The religion thus evolved during the period was, as a matter of policy, manifested by the rulers in the construction and repair of temples, grants and endowments to maṭhas, agrahāras and gifts to Brahmans and the establishment and maintenance of *satras* (inns for distribution of food) for all classes and communities. We may note the activities in this connection, under different rulers.

Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617), according to an inscription,[183] had the *prākāra* of the Ranganātha temple, at Seringapatam enlarged, erected manṭapas in and near it, had gold plating work done on the copper sheet of the pinnacle (*kaḷaśa*) of the temple, had a white horse made of silver, instituted enquiries into the management of temple offerings and laid down rules for the administration of the institution. He made the grant[184] of a village to God Mahābaleśvara;[185] bestowed the village of Nrisimhapura on Brahmans, providing a share for the Garuḍa Vāhana of God Chaluvarāya of Melkote; and gave[186] away Bêinnahaḷḷi to God Rāmachandra of Vahnipura. He also, we are told, paid[187] attention to the temples at Yedatore, Rāmanāthapur, Tirumakūḍlu Narasipur, Tirupathi, Chāmuṇḍi Hill, Mysore and Nanjangud, making a special endowment[188] (*the Rājamuḍi*—a jewelled crown) to God Chaluvarāyaswāmi at Melkote. His *bhaktavigraha* is to be seen on a pillar in the *Navaraṅga* of the latter temple, with his name inscribed thereon.

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182 *E.C.*, IX, CP. 32, AN. 90; IV(2) KP. 18, etc.
183 *Mackenzie Collections*, Nos. 18, 15, 20, fol. 23-24.
184 *E.C.*, IV (2) Hg. 107.
185 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 157.
186 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 116.
187 *Palace History*, pp. 40-41.
188 *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 58.

Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617-1637) granted[189] lands for the service of God Mahābaleśvara, villages to Brahmans and an agrahāra to them, named after him—*Chāmarājasamudra*,[190] besides making grants for the service of God Ranganātha.[191] He is also said to have made pilgrimages.[192] Immadi Rāja Waḍeyar (1637-1638) continued the traditions of his predecessors. Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-1659) was, we note, famous[193] for his gifts of lands, gold and food. He granted[194] agrahāras to Brahmans in Narasarātpura, Narasarājapura and Kanṭhīrava Narasa Nripāmbōdhi—all named after him; granted[195] villages for offerings to God Hanumantha, for building a new manṭapa in the central street of Terakaṇāmbi and for the *satra* for daily distribution of food to Brahmans;[196] erected temples to Lakshmī Narasimha and Arkeśvara, with grants thereto;[197] established feeding houses, conducted the Rāmānujakûṭa in Seringapatam and[198] provided for the continuance of the works of merit in *Kāśi* such as, ceremonies, anointment of Visveśvara and other Gods, illuminations with *Sahasranāma*, offerings, rites, bathing gifts, feeding 100 Brahmans daily, annual allowances to Kāśināthā and bathing in *Māgha* at Prayāga. He also established agrahāras[199] in Śrirangam, Karigiri (Karighaṭṭa), Śri Śailam, Rāmeśvaram and Paśchimaranga (Seringapatam). He is, again, recorded[200] to have given the endowment of *Kanṭhīrava Muḍi* to Lakshmi Narasimha of Seringapatam, arranged for the car festival of that God, constructed a tank (named *Narasāmbudhi*) to raise crops for the service of

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189 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 36.
190 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 62.
191 *Mackenzie Collections*, *op. cit.*, fol. 30.
192 *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
193 *E.C*, V (1) Ag. 64.
194 *E.C.*, III (1) Ag. 198, IV (2) YD. 5; III (1) SR. 103.
195 *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10.
196 *Chikkadevarāya Vamśāvaḷi*, p. 37, *E.C.*, IV (2) KP. 39.
197 *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam*, Ch. XXVI, pp. 494-495.
198 *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 42.
199 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 103.
200 *Palace History*, pp. 91-92.

God Śrikaṇṭheśvara of Nanjangud, built towers for the temples of Ranganātha and Gangādhareśvara and given away gifts to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari and the shrines at Tirupati, Melkote and other places.

Devarāja Wadeyar (1659-1673) performed[201] sacrifices and special worship of Gods (*devavrata*). We are told,[202] he utilized the spoils of his battles for the construction of agrahāras to Brahmans and countless works of charity. He made the great gifts (*shodaśadāna*)[203] prescribed in *Hemādri* and other works—gifts such as *Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmāṇḍa, Saptāmbudhi, Svarnatulāpurusha. Gosahasra* and so forth:[204] constructed ponds, wells and tanks, and bestowed many a gift on Brahmans at Śrirangam, Venkataśaila (Tirupati), Yādavagiri (Melkote), Hastigiri (Kānchi). Sētu (Rāmeśvaram), Vāraṇāsi (Benares), Prayāga (Allahabad), Gaya and Seringapatam: established *satras* (feeding houses) in every village, provided for daily festivals in temples and bestowed numerous villages as donations. By his order a maṭha[205] was erected and villages granted as endowments for charity, in Kaḷale by Devājamma, his step-mother. He made a grant[206] to God Mahadeśvara of Moḷagāla,[207] granted villages to *Maṭhādhipathis* (Rāja Rājendra Bhārati and Rāghavendra Bhārati), and[208] to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari, Agastyeśvara, Mallikārjuna, Chandraśekhara and Gangādhareśvara (of Maḷavaḷḷi); granted also[209] villages and agrahāras to Brahmans in Bhērya (also called *Devarājapura*), Muṇḍūr and Kanthīravasamudra, the agrahāra of Devarājapura being filled with supplies for a year—jewels, cloths, milch cows and calves;[210] erected a *dīpamālā*

201 *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54.
202 *Mysūru Rājara Charitre, MS. Extracts.*
203 *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 54.
204 *Ibid.*, also XII, Kg. 37.
205 *E.C.*, III (1) Ng. 81 and 56.
206 *E.C.*, IX, KN. 94.
207 *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26; 1917, p. 58, etc.
208 *E.C.*, XII, TP. 106; V (1) HN. 8; XII Kg. 4; TP. 72; III (1) TN. 54; ML. 63, etc.
209 *E.C.*, YD. 43, 54; Hg. 139.
210 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 155.

pillar for God Chennarāya at Chennarāyapaṭṭaṇa fort and provided for feeding houses. He is also celebrated[211] for his erection of steps to Chāmuṇḍi hills, and for the setting up of the big *Bull* midway in the hill, and for the excavation of a tank known as[212] *Devāmbudhi* (extant of *Doḍḍakere*) in Mysore.

Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704) is also recorded[213] to have freely given away the sixteen great gifts. During his reign, we note,[214] learned Brahmans patronised by him lived in Śriranga, Yadugiri, Anjanagiri, Kānchi, Vikśavana, Sētu, Śankhamukha, Darbhaśavanam, Kumbhakōṇam, Benares, Dwāraka, Jagannātha and Prayāga. He gave prominence[215] to the *Vajra Makuṭi* (Vana Muḍi) festival at Melkote in the month of Phālguṇa, and inaugurated the *Gajendra* festival there. He erected the temple of[216] Paravāsudeva on the banks of the *Koundini.* He established[217] an agrahāra (known as Devanagara, *dvitīyaśataka*, in the Mādalanāḍu for the residence of learned Brahmans,[218] brought the *Varāha* from Śri Mushṇam and worshipped it with great devotion in Seringapatam, erecting there temples to[219] Varāhaswāmi and Krishṇa Mūrti ;[220] set up God Pattābhirāma in Somanāthapur ; granted[221] lands for the worship of God Gōpālaswāmi and Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa ;[222] constructed a magnificent pond at Malavaḷḷi :[223] erected a *Manṭapa brindāvana* and *Gopālasarasu* pond at Talakad ;[224] made grants of lands to Brahmans and provided for inns. He also erected[225] a *Manṭapa* near *Maṇikarṇikā*, and made

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211 *Palace History*, pp. 99-100.

212 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 14.

213 *Ibid.*

214 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12. pp. 56-7 (1674).

215 *Ibid.*

216 *Ibid.*

217 *Ibid.*

218 *M.A.R.*, 1908-09. p. 26.

219 *Mackenzie Collections*, ff. 54-55.

220 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 96.

221 *E.C.*, III (1) My 7.

222 *E.C.*, III (1) Ml. 61.

223 *E.C.*, XII, MI. 15.

224 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56 7, 1908-09, p. 26, 1918, p. 58, *E.C.*, IV(2) Ch. 138.

225 *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, p. 23 ; *E.C.*, II, SB. 365.

ponds (*kalyāṇi*) at Melkote and Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa; gave[226] a silver spoon and gold ornaments as offerings to the temple at Melkote; and presented[227] *Padmapīṭha* to the processional image of Varāhaswami. He is also recorded[228] to have made arrangements for the conduct of car festivals and processions of local gods and made numerous endowments and gifts to the deities at the Chāmuṇḍi hill, Nanjangud, Seringapatam, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, Karīghaṭṭa and so forth.

Kanṭhīrava II (1704-1714) continued the traditions of his predecessors. He built a number of houses[229] for feeding the poor, opened sheds for water at convenient stages on roads, and granted[230] villages for the services of Gods Venkateswara (newly set up in the fort of Bangalore) and Lakshmikānta of Kaḷale, providing for the annual car festival of the latter.

Krishṇarāja I (1714-1732) was, we learn,[231] a devotee of God Nārāyaṇa, and favoured by his *Guru*, Śrīnivāsa Yatīndra. He repaired[232] the ancient temples of Vishṇu—particularly the Lakshmīkānta temple at Kaḷale—by adding to it towers, walls, pavilions, car and vehicles for the procession of the God and provided for special worship. A *nirūpa*[233] addressed to Kaḷale Mallarājayya tells him that an order was passed to employ ten paid servants for guarding the temple and that he was to carry out the order by employing them on a salary of four varahas each, deducting the amount from the tribute he was paying to the Palace. Krishṇarāja also presented[234] a gold ornament to the Belūr temple, bestowed agrahāras[235] with Vrittis on all the classes of Brahmans in Kaḷale (*Apratima Krishṇarājasamudra*), Yadugiri, and Nanjangud;[236] offered a

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226 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
227 *Ibid.*, **1912**, p. 57.
228 *Palace History*, p. 140.
229 *M.A.R.*, **1910-11**, pp. 55-6.
230 *E.C.*, IX, BN. 118.
231 *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 64.
232 *Ibid.*, also *M.A.R.*, **1928**, p. 54, etc.
233 *M.A.R.*, **1914-15**, p. 64.
234 *M.A.R.*, **1910-11**, p. 55.
235 *M.A.R.*, *ibid.*
236 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 18.

new car for the festival to God Kīrti Nārāyaṇa ;[237] had the sacred pools of Yadugiri repaired, granted villages for the offerings to God Lakshmīkānta of Kaḷale, and Varadarāja of Kānchi (Hastigiri), besides confirming the previous grants of his predecessors to the latter temple ;[238] and presented a gold-plated umbrella, two silver vessels and a silver-plated *Vāhanam* to Melkote temple.

Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1732-1734) made[239] a grant to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari. His successor Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II (1734-1766)[240] got formed well-furnished agrahāras (*Nanjarājasamudra*, *Venkaṭarāmasamudra* and *Rāmachandra-pura*), which were bestowed on the Brahmans of various *gôtras* and *sūtras* and *śākhās* by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, minister Venkaṭapathayya and Daḷvoy Devarājayya, respectively. He also granted[241] villages to Goddess Chāmuṇḍeśvari, to Gods Nanjuṇḍeśvara, Lakshmīkānta and Somaśekhara and to Abhinava Sachchidānanda Bhārati Svāmi (1741-1767) of Śringeri Maṭha to whom he wrote expressing his pleasure at his proposed visit to Seringapatam and Nanjangud on his way to Rāmeśvaram and at the opportunity thus afforded him of paying homage to Gods Chandramouḷīśvara and Vênugôpāla. He also provided for the maintenance[242] of Kaḷale Chikkayya's temple, satra and Maṭha, by grants of land ;[243] and bestowed agrahāras on Brahmans, named after himself (*Krishnarāja-samudra*) and his mother (*Devāmbāsamudra*).

(*To be continued.*)

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[237] *E.C.*, III (1) SR. 64.
[238] *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, p. 5.
[239] *E.C.*, IX, Ma. 37.
[240] *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 58 ; *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 69-70, *E.C.* III (1) TN. 63.
[241] *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, p. 50 ; *E.C.*, IX. DV. 69 ; IV (2) Ch. 101 : 1910-11, p. 56 ; 1914-15, p. 64 ; 1923, pp. 41-44 and 1916, p. 72 (*Nirūpas*).
[242] *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59.
[243] *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 17 and 18.

IS THE ADVAITA OF ŚANKARA BUDDHISM IN DISGUISE?

By G. V. Budhakar, B.A. (Hons.)

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 176)

II

The school responsible for this attack follows a kind of realism in philosophy and theism in religion. It is dualistic in outlook and supports unity in diversity. Some modern scholars, even though they differ from this school, join hands with it as far as this charge is concerned. We have examined their position in the first part and shall come to them again in the third part. We have already mentioned the two views of idealism and realism based on the Upaniṣads. The school in question follows the second one and rejects the first. The commentaries of this school on the Upaniṣads and Brahma-sūtras, prior to Śankara, are lost to us. We get some stray references to them in the works of Śankara. He refers to them thus:—

केचिदुपनिषद्व्याख्यातारो ब्रह्मवादिनो । मां. का. भा. 3. 20.
अस्मदीयाश्च केचित । ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 3. 19.
औपनिषदंमन्या अपि केचन । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 2. 3. 6.

Many of the extant commentaries are later than Śankara. This school believes as does Śankara that the Brahma-sūtras systematise the teaching of the Upaniṣads. It is, therefore, necessary to see how far Śankara makes the nearest possible approach to the original intention of the sūtras. We have, therefore, to examine his commentary on them and compare it with the commentaries of this school. Bhattabhâskara was the first of this school who came just after Śankara and he was followed by others belonging to the Pâncharâtrika school, *viz.*, Râmânuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Nimbârka and Baladeva. Vijnânabhikshu does not belong to this school. All these have their commentaries on the Brahma-sūtras and differ

among themselves as regards the interpretation of the Brahma-sūtras. But all of them differ from Śankara's interpretation of the same. As many of them have read their preconceived ideas into the sūtras, it is difficult to make out their real import. Again, matters are more confounded by the innovation of modern scholarship as it is not serious about religious values and rejects scriptural authority. It subjects these texts to mere intellectual and historical criticism and holds that in the Upaniṣads there are passages which support Śankara but not so in the sūtras; but this view is unanimously contradicted by the orthodox commentators just now referred to who emphatically assert that the sūtras give the teaching of the Upaniṣads in a nut-shell. If the author of the sūtras is prepared to give the teaching of the Upaniṣads in its entirety and if there are passages in the Upaniṣads that support Śankara, there is no reason why there should not be the passages that can support Śankara in the sūtras especially as the author of the sūtras gives both theistic and absolutistic views. We will show this in the following lines.

He mentions the Māyāvāda in 2. 1. 14. Here all the commentators except Śankara have evaded the implication of the words, "वाचारंभणं" and "एव" from the original Upaniṣadic text. The two words exclude the phenomenon and assert only the Absolute Reality. Śankara properly interprets them while others intentionally connive at them. The Pariṇāmavāda as leading to this Māyāvāda is referred to in 2. 1. 13. In neither of these two sūtras is there any word like "तु" which can show the disapproval of any one of these two views. Both are true and are accepted by the author according to the different stages of religious or philosophical evolution. Śankara here aptly remarks:—

सूत्रकारोऽपि परमार्थाभिप्रायेण तदनन्यत्वमित्याह । व्यवहाराभिप्रायेण तु स्याल्लोकवदिति महासमुद्रस्थानीयतां ब्रह्मणः कथयति । अप्रत्याख्यायैव कार्यप्रपंचं परिणामप्रक्रियां चाश्रयति सगुणेषूपासनेषूपयोक्ष्यत इति ॥

In this way, absolute unity and phenomenal diversity are reconciled as not conflicting but as the latter leading to the

former, *i.e.*, unity in diversity being a step leading to absolute monism. In 2. 3. 7 it is maintained that any change or विकार (परिणाम) is true on the empirical plane only. The Absolute is above any change, because in 1. 1. 13 it is absolutely denied.

In 3. 2. 11 and 3. 2. 16 the Nirguṇa Brahma is mentioned. In 3. 2. 22 there are both the Saguṇa and Nirguṇa aspects of Brahman. The latter is higher than the former and it is the causeless cause. Creation is true in the case of the former. This creation or sport supports theism. For that purpose the lower aspect of the Reality is accepted.

In 1. 1. 30. 4.1.3 and 1. 4. 22 the absolute unity of Brahman and Jiva is treated. In 2. 3. 50 and 3. 2. 18 the individual soul is asserted to be nothing but an illusionary division from the ultimate standpoint. एव in both the cases shows absolute emphasis. The objection in the following sūtras is explained empirically. Both 3. 2. 21 and the first sūtra of the next topic turn again to the subject treated before. In 2. 3. 50 and in the following topic the partial limitation of souls due to plurality is denied. The section (पाद) ends there. The sūtra 2. 3. 50, therefore, remains as the ultimate view of the author. In 2. 3. 33–39 activity is accepted empirically; its absence in 40 is stated absolutely. In 2. 3. 18 and 4. 1. 6 individual souls are taken to be knowledge itself. It is neither the substratum of it as the Vaiśeṣikas say nor without it as the Sānkhyas observe. In 1. 1. 30, 1. 4. 22, 3. 2. 29–31, 4. 1. 3 the sūtras stand at the end of the topic (अधिकरण). The subject succeeding 1. 1. 30, 1. 4. 22. and 4. 1. 3 is quite different from that treated in these sūtras. They cannot be connected with anything else and no other meaning can be read into them. This is shown without torturing or evading any word. In 1. 1. 31 the plurality of egos is meant for theistic purposes and not final.

Sūtras 4. 4. 1, 4. 4. 4, 4. 4. 19 refer to the type of absolutism (मुक्ति) that is beyond any change and in which every difference is sublated for ever in the case of individual souls

and the Brahman. There can be no possibility of the divine sport due to distinction as held by the theists; because that is true in the Saguṇa aspect with which is connected the second type of absolutism (मुक्ति) treated in 4. 1. 22, 1. 4. 9, 1. 4. 18, and 4. 4. 21.

Such is the sketch of the salient points in the Brahma-sūtras. It shows that the author gives both the theistic and absolutistic views as true according to the religious calibre of an aspirant. They are not contradictory but complementary. He gives the views of other teachers like Audulomi and Aśmarathya in 1. 4. 21, 3. 2. 28; 1. 4. 20, 3. 2. 27; who support theism and unity in diversity. But these views are given as lower or partial opinions (एकदेशिमतानि). The author gives the view of Kāśakritsna in 1. 4. 22 as the ultimate and highest view. Thus it is clear that the author is giving the thought of the Upaniṣads in its twofold aspect. There is no conflict or divergency between the Upaniṣads and the author of the sūtras. Śankara interprets the theistic sūtras as they are. But the theistic commentators over-emphasize their standpoint and twist the sūtras, which go against their view, to suit their purpose. The first attempt of this kind after Śankara we find in the work of Bhattabhāskara. His avowed object was to attack Śankara as he says thus in his work :—

सूत्राभिप्रायसंवृत्या स्वाभिप्रायप्रकाशनात् ।
व्याख्यातं यैरिदं शास्त्रं व्याख्येयं तन्निवृत्तये ॥

भास्कर. ब्र. सू. भाष्य, Chawkhambha Series.

He supports the lower aspect of the Brahman, accepts Pariṇāmavāda, and follows unity in diversity between the Supreme Soul and individual souls. He calls Śankara a Buddhist in disguise. He remarks that there are some sūtras, which favour monism and others which treat dualism (p. 84; sūtra 1. 4. 21). From this the logical conclusion which he draws is that unity in diversity is the ultimate goal (p. 221; sūtra 4. 1. 3). He relies more on the passages like 3. 2. 25–27 and says that the difference due to limitations is the final truth. He reconciles activity (कर्म) and knowledge (ज्ञान). He says that the interpretation of Śankara is forced and uncalled

for. He is inclined more towards Audulomi and Aśmarathya than towards Kāśakritsna.

To his credit we must say that he is right as far as the psychological (आधिदैविक) standpoint is concerned where unity in diversity (भेदाभेदवाद) is the ultimate outcome and theism is the last appeal. Besides, he is free from the sectarian bias of the Pāncharātrins. As far as this standpoint is concerned there is very little difference between him and them. The main defect with him is that he proceeds with the object of attacking Śankara and not as an independent and comprehensive interpreter. On account of this reason his work has become sketchy and imperfect especially in the case of those sūtras which go against his view.

But the experience of Yogic mystics points to a higher goal ····अभेद एव त्वत्र प्रतिपिपादयिषितो ब्रह्मात्मत्वप्रतिपत्तौ पुरुषार्थसिद्धेः ।

शां. ब्र. सू. भा. 2. 3. 47.

The dialectic of philosophers goads them to something that is ultimate and final. Nothing short of that satisfies them. Any halting compromise seems to them to be self-contradictory. Śankara thus remarks:—नित्यनिरवयववस्तुविषये हि विरुद्धत्वमवोचाम द्वैताद्वैतस्य । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 5. 1. 1. Besides, there are passages in the Upanisads and sūtras, which cannot be properly and satisfactorily explained unless we follow the standpoint of the absolutists like Śankara. The ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवाद of Bhattabhāskara is all right for our practical affairs in life. "व्यवहारे तु भाट्टनयः" this opinion of the Mīmāmsakas is accepted by the Vedāntins. But this cannot be reconciled with the highest spiritual experience, where nothing short of actionlessness is possible. Śankara remarks,

तस्मात्सर्वदुःखविनिर्मुक्तैकचैतन्यात्मकोऽहमित्येष आत्मानुभवः ।

न चैवमात्मानुभवतः किञ्चिदन्यत्कृत्यमवशिष्यते । ब्र. सू. भा. 4. 1. 2.

Thus we see that this authoritarian or institutional, mystical or personal, and logical or philosophical trio converges to the same goal. This brings us to the standpoint of Śankara. Bhattabhāskara, therefore, cannot be our final guide, He is accepted as a necessary step to the Highest Ideal,

The next important commentator on the Brahma-sūtras is Rāmānuja. He belongs to the Pāncharātrika school. His main object was to support theism with sane thought and to seek, if possible, some Vedic support for his school. For all these attempts he depended on the abridged edition of the original Bodhāyanavritti on the sūtras. For this reason some importance and glamour are in his work. Let us trace the history of his school. In the *Mahābhārata* where different philosophical schools are mentioned, the Pāncharātra is not included in the purely Vedic fold. In the Brahma-sūtras also they are ranked among the systems, which the author wants to attack as opposed to Vedic thought. In *Maṇimekhalai* five Vedavādas, *viz.*, Vedavāda, Brahmavāda, Pramāṇavāda, Vishṇuvāda and Śivavāda, are mentioned but this school is absent. Chandrakīrti, the author of a commentary on the *Mādhyamika-kārika*, mentions it as a separate school on p. 159, ll. 7-8 :—

प्रकृतीश्वरस्वभावकालाणुनारायणजैमिनिकणादकपिलादितीर्थकरवादनिरासेन ।

(Biblo. Buddhica Edn.)

Here by the word, "नारायण" he probably refers to this school, because in the *Mahābhārata* he is called the first originator of it. Chandrakīrti speaks of Vedic theism thus :— बुद्धिपूर्वककर्तृकं च पुरुषादिकारणिनो जगदभ्युपगच्छन्तः (p. 100, l. 1, *ibid.*)

In the *Harṣacharita* the Pāncharātra is separately mentioned as quite different from Vedic (Upaniṣadic) and Bhāgavata schools (p. 220, ch. 8, para. 5, *cf.* p. 15 supra). Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika* (1.3.3. 3 and 4) includes it among the schools which are not purely Vedic. The schools mentioned are the Śākya, Sānkhya, Yoga, Pāncharātra, Pāśupata and others. Medhātithi in his commentary on the *Manu-smriti* (2.6) follows him. From all these references, it is clear that Rāmānuja's zealous attempts to prove his school to be purely Vedic were in vain. The moment he tries to defend his position in the Br.-sūtras 2.2.42-45, one is doubtful about the previous history of his school. Madhva goes a step further and asserts a bold and startling truth :—

वेदपांचरात्रयोरैक्याभिप्रायेण पांचरात्रस्यैव प्रामाण्यमुक्तं । मध्व ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 1.3. He states that the authority of the Pāncharātra is far superior to that of the Veda. But this makes his position all the more questionable. In the Br.-Sutras 2.2.42-45 Madhva, Baladeva and Nimbārka have introduced the Śaktivāda to avoid the refutation of their school. Vallabha accepts partial refutation. Vijnānabhikshu is not explicit here but in 1.1.3 of the same he tries to prove that the author supported the Sānkhya and Pāncharātra. His "अविभागाद्वैत" is not different from the qualified monism of Rāmānuja and others. But the introduction of the Śaktivāda in the Br.-Sūtras 2.2.42-45 cannot be accepted on the authority of Śankara and Bhattabhāskara, the oldest available commentators. Moreover Rāmānuja is quite conscious of his weak point. He frankly admits this in his Śrībhāṣya:—

एवमात्मशरीरभावेन तादात्म्योपपादने परस्य ब्रह्मणोपहतपाप्मत्वसर्वज्ञत्वादिगोचरा जीवस्याविदुषः शोचतो ब्रह्मोपासनान्मोक्षवादिन्यो जगत्सृष्टिप्रलयाभिधायिन्यो जगतो **ब्रह्मतादात्म्योपदेशपराश्च श्रुतयः सर्वाः** सम्यगुपपादिता भवन्तीति **काशकृत्स्नीयमेवमतं सूत्रकारः स्वीकृतवान्।** 1. 1. 22, p. 381, ll. 5–10, Bombay San. Series Edn.

Thus it is clear that his qualified monism is not the ultimate view of the author. This completely knocks off his support. Śivakanṭha in his *Brahmamīmāmsā* has similar remarks on the same sūtra:—

इदमेव मतं सूत्रकारस्य मतद्वयमुपन्यस्य तद्विरोधेनैतदभिधानाद**नन्यस्याभिधानाच्च** निश्चीयते । But in the commentary on 2. 2. 35 he connives at the refutation of the Pāśupata school, which he follows. He brings in the "एकदेशिनस्तान्त्रिकाः" who are neither meant by the author nor introduced by Śankara and Bhāskara. The Pāncharātrins say that the Brahma-sūtras do not contain the terminology of Śankara *viz.*, "माया, मिथ्या, विवर्त, उपाधि, अविद्या, etc." But if the same question is driven against them can they point out their terms like "व्यूह, प्रकार, चिदचिद्विशिष्ट, etc." in the sūtras? The negative phraseology of Śankara can be traced back to the Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇiya*.

Now about the Bodhāyanavritti of which so much is made. In *Prapancha-hṛdaya* the following reference occurs:

तस्य विंशत्यध्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनामधेयं भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतम् । तद्ग्रन्थबाहुल्यभयात् उपेक्ष्य किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तं उपवर्षेण कृतम् ।

इति उपाङ्गप्रकरणे ॥

We have referred to this extract in the previous pages. Śankara in his commentary on the Br.-sūtras 1. 3. 28 & 3. 3. 53 mentions Upavarṣa with great regard as "भगवान्". Nowhere does he contradict him. In the same manner does Śabara in his commentary on the *Purvamīmāmsā-sūtras* 1. 1. 5 refer to him. If Śankara has great respect for Upavarṣa and if Upavarṣa simply abridged the Bodhāyanavritti, we can say that there was the continuity of thought and interpretation between Śankarȧ and Bodhāyana. Śankara whose view we have mentioned elsewhere is not against such a conclusion. It is true that from the works of Śankara it seems that he had no direct access to the work of Bodhāyana as he nowhere refers to it directly or otherwise. Nor does he throw any light on one Vrittikār Kāṇva Bodhāyana mentioned in the Bhāradvāja Gṛ.-sūtra 3. 11, हि. के. गृ. सू. 2.20.1, बौ. गृ. सू. 3.9.6, बौ. ध. सू. 2.5.27. It is also doubtful whether this vritti was on the Br.-sūtras or any Gṛ.-sūtra. He criticises one Vrittikār but he cannot be either of the two commentators, *i.e.*, Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa. Ānandagiri, therefore, is wrong on the Br.-sūtras 3. 3. 53 (p. 370 Āna. Āsh. Series) when he identifies Upavarṣa with the Vrittikār. It is unnatural to expect that Śankara, who called Upavarṣa "Bhagavān", should severely criticise him. He refers to the same man as the commentator of *Bhagavad-Gītā* prior to Śankara though Śankara is not particular about one and the same man:—

तदर्थविवरणाय नैकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायम्

टी. पूर्वाचार्यैः व्याख्यातत्वात् । वृत्तिकारैः दर्शितस्तथाऽपि

P. 6, Āna. Āsh. Series.

He is mentioned in *Tai. Up.* Com. Sub-com. p. 68, 2. 5; where Ānandagiri says:—आनन्दमयः परमात्मेति वृत्तिकारैरुक्तं तान्निषेधेन

व्याचष्टे. But while commenting on the Vārtik of the same (pp. 107–108, verses 23–26) he is silent. In the *Chāndogya* Com. on the passage "अत्र आहुः केचित्", he says to the following effect :—

स्वव्याख्यानं वर्जितदोषं उक्त्वा ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति इत्यत्र वृत्तिकारीयं व्याख्यानं उत्थापयति (p. 116, 2. 31. 1). Again in *Br. Up.* Com. Sub-com. (p. 151, 3rd edn., 1. 4. 10) he observes:—तत्रवृत्तिकृतां मतानुसारेण ब्रह्मशब्दार्थमाह and on p. 152 of the same Bhartṛprapancha is mentioned. But Suresvara in his Vārtika of the same speaks of Bhartṛprapancha only (1. 4. 10, verses 1124–1161, Part II). From all these references and extracts it cannot be said that Ānandagiri depended on any first-hand information. He is, it seems, uncertain about the identification of the Vrittikār. Śankara does not make any difference between a Vritti and a Bhāṣya. In the introduction to his commentaries on the *Chāndogya* and *Kaṭha* he calls them Vrittis. They, on the other hand, are known as Bhāṣyas. Again about the Vrittikār it is doubtful if he refers to one and the same man because Padmapāda, his direct disciple and the first commentator of his Br.-sūtra commentary mentions four such authorities, who are criticised by Śankara. The following extracts refer to them :—

(*a*) इत्यन्यैरपि स्ववृत्तौ वर्णितम् ।

(*b*) तथा च वृत्यन्तरे वर्णितम् (both on p. 58) :

again on p. 64,

(*c*) तत्र अन्यैः वृत्तिकारैः ब्रह्मशब्दस्यार्थान्तरमाशंक्य.

(*d*) वृत्यन्तरे तु शेषलक्षणा व्याख्याता । Vol. II, Part I.

Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.

Śabara in his *Purva-mīmāṃsā* commentary (1.1.5) says:—वृत्तिकारस्तु अन्यथा इमं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार. After this he gives a quotation. In this Upavarṣa is referred to. It would, therefore, be wrong if we suppose that the Vrittikār meant by him was Bodhāyana. Then there will be anachronism, because Bodhāyana long preceded Upavarṣa. He could not be Upavarṣa also, because he is mentioned in the passage. He might be Devasvāmi or Bhavadās, who, according to *Prapancha-hṛdaya*, are Śankara's predecessors. But this work refers

to their works on the *Purva-mīmāmsā* only. From Śabara, therefore, we cannot get any definite information. Yāmunāchārya, in his *Siddhitraya*, observes thus:—

यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेन इदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि, विवृतानि च परिमितगंभीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता, विस्तृतानि च तानि गंभीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा भगवता श्रीवत्सांकमिश्रेणापि ; तथापि आचार्यटंक–भर्तृप्रपंच–भर्तृमित्र–भर्तृहरि–ब्रह्मदत्त—शंकर—श्रीवत्सांक—भास्करादि विरचितसितासितविविधनिबंधनश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धये यथावदन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यन्ते इति तत्प्रतिपत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणक्रमः ।

Pp. 5–6, Chaukhambha Edn.

If the authorities mentioned are in a chronological order we can say that there were seven commentators on the Br.-sūtras prior to Śankara. Some were Pāncharātrins and the others belonged to some other schools like Bhartṛprapancha and Brahmadatta, who were criticised by Śankara and Sureśvara as pointed out by Ānandagiri and others. Vidyāsurabhi, a commentary on the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (1. 67) says, " इति केचित् ब्रह्मदत्तादयः ". Ānandagiri on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārtika* (Part I, Sambandhavārtika, verse 797) observes:—इहतु ब्रह्मदत्तादिमतेन ज्ञानाभ्यासे विधिमाशंक्य निरस्यते. It has been already stated that Sureśvara mentions Bhartṛprapancha. Both Bhartṛprapancha and Brahmadatta were "ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवादिनः". According to Ānandagiri, Śankara refers to Bhartṛprapancha twenty-two times (*Brihadāraṇyaka* Com. Āna. Āsh. Series, 3rd edition: p. 2, 1. 1; 152, 151, 1. 4. 10; 187, 1. 4. 14; 190, 1. 4. 14; 208, 1. 5. 2; 236, 1. 5. 18; 316, 2. 2. 2; 321, 2. 3. 3; 328, 2. 3. 6. 1st edition: 345, 2. 5; 396, 3. 2. 13; 424, 3. 4. 2; 427, 3. 5. 1; 534, 4. 3. 7; 586, 589, 4. 3. 22; 594, 597, 4. 3. 24-30; 658, 4. 4. 22; 699, 700, 5. 1. 1).

From these constant and vigorous attacks one would be tempted to assert that Bhartṛprapancha was the Vrittikār. But just now it is shown that Ānandagiri mentions both of them separately in the same context. We have no means to examine his reference, but one thing is certain that Sureśvara makes no such distinction. Bhartṛmitra was a commentator on the *Purva-mimāmsā* prior to Kumārila.

But nothing is known about his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras. Bhartṛhari was the author of *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatical work. He followed the *Śabdādvaita.* Nothing more is known about him. It seems that Bhartṛmitra, Bhartṛprapancha, Bhartṛhari and Brahmadatta might be the four commentators meant by Śankara and criticised by Padmapāda. But one thing which deserves special attention in the above extract from the work of Yāmunāchārya is that both Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa are conspicuously absent. Was it because they did not support his view? In that case, neither of the two can be the Vrittikār. Such a surmise is strengthened when we come to Rāmānuja, who refers to one Vrittikār. He relies on the Bodhāyanavritti that was abridged by somebody. Can this person be Upavarṣa, whom we know to have done the same work? But Rāmānuja scarcely refers to him. No scholar has brought any evidence to prove that Rāmānuja depended on him. Vedāntadeśika in his *Tattva-tīka* on the *Śrībhāṣya* says that Upavarṣa is Bodhāyana. But this is disproved by *Prapancha-hṛdaya.* His words are, "वृत्तिकारस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्यान्नाम." He does not make any difference between the Vrittikār and Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa. Yāmunāchārya in the above quotation refers to the first commentator; but does not care to name him definitely as if he does not support him. But we have shown that this first commentator was Bodhāyana. Whether he refers to Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa we cannot say definitely. But judging from the epithets he showers on Śrivatsānkamiśra and Tanka, we can say that he was not so much inclined towards this first commentator as he was towards the two latter. From this we can definitely say that they were Pāncharātrins; because the first is called "भगवान्" and the second "आचार्य". The first must have been the important guide of Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja in his *Vedārtha-sangraha* (Benares edition Pandit, p 148) refers to the following authorities:—

भगवद्बोधायन–टंक–द्रमिड–गुहदेव–कपर्दि–भारुचिप्रभृत्यविगीत–शिष्टपरिगृहीत पुरातन वेदवेदान्त व्याख्यान सुव्यक्तार्थ श्रुतिनिकरनिदर्शितोऽयं पन्थाः।

Here all the persons are not necessarily the commentators on the *Brahma*-sūtras; because he uses the words Veda and Vedānta. Guhadeva, Bhāruchi and Kapardin are Vedic commentators as Devarāja in his commentary on the *Nighantu* says. We have just now come across Tanka as a commentator. Dramida, who is referred to by Madhva, has done the same thing. But the identification of Tanka with Brahmanandi, as observed by Sudarśanasūri in his *Tātparyadeepikā*, is wrong. Nor can this Dramida be identified with the Drāvida of Śankara. Both Dravida and Brahmanandi are proved to be completely absolutists. Bodhāyana seems to be a name of mere antiquity to Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja, it appears, had not any direct access to his work. This is clear from the following extract from his *Śrībhāṣya*:

भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः चिक्षिपुः । तन्मतानुसारेण सूत्राक्षराणि व्याख्यास्यन्ते ।

From these three extracts it appears that Rāmānuja followed the work of Śrivatsānkamiśra as well as those of Tanka and Dramida. He refers to Dramida in his *Śrībhāṣya* 2. 2. 3. As Rāmānuja is silent about Upavarṣa and as Yāmunāchārya gives prominence to Śrivatsānkamiśra we can safely assert that the abridged edition of the original commentary on the Br.-sūtras, which Rāmānuja followed, was by Śrivatsānkamiśra, who was a Pāncharātrin. But if the Vrittikār, whom Śankara criticises, were to be a Pāncharātrin, Rāmānuja would not have spared pains in defending him against all the attacks. The Vrittikār of Śankara, therefore, was quite a different person. In the following verses, Madhva refers to one Vrittikār on the Br.-sūtras:—

भारतीविजयश्चैव संविदानन्द एव च ।
ब्रह्मघोषः शतानन्द उद्धतश्चैव पञ्चमः ॥ १ ॥
विजयो रुद्रभट्टश्च वामनाख्यस्तथाष्टमः ।
स यादवप्रकाशश्च नवम स्तत्र कीर्तितः ॥ २ ॥
रामानुजस्तथा भर्तृप्रपंचो द्रविडस्तथा ।
ब्रह्मदत्तो भास्करश्च पिशाचो वृत्तिकारकः ॥ ३ ॥

तथा विजयभट्टश्च विष्णुक्रान्तस्तथैव च ।
वादीन्द्रश्च तथा पश्चात्ततो माधवदासकः ॥ ४ ॥
ततश्च शंकरश्च स्यादेकविंशतिवादिभिः ।

In this list, there are twenty-one commentators of the Br.-sūtras; but it is not exhaustive as it neither mentions some of the authorities of Yāmunāchārya nor does it speak anything about Bodhāyana or Upavarṣa. We have not got sufficient evidence to identify this Vrittikār with Upavarṣa or Śrivatsānkamiśra.

From this discussion, it follows that the one Vrittikār, to whom Śankara refers, who is criticised by Śankara, on whom Rāmānuja depends, and whom Madhva quotes, is not one and the same person. It is doubtful whether the word Vrittikār has any particular reference as the word vritti has no technical meaning. The question of identification of the Vrittikār as handled by the mediæval commentators like Ānandagiri, Vedāntadeśika and Sudarśanasūri is seriously questionable. Rāmānuja's predecessor who abridged the Bodhāyana-vritti is a Pāncharātrin and not Upavarṣa, since he is shown to be respected by Śankara as an important authority of his tradition. He and indirectly Bodhāyana are favourable to Śankara. Rāmānuja, therefore, loses this last support. From various sources it is proved that his school is semi-Vedic if not purely Vedic. The author of the Br.-sutras does not support him as the final goal. Rāmānuja himself admits this. From the psychological standpoint there is very little difference between his "विशिष्टाद्वैत and औपाधिक-द्वैताद्वैत of Bhattabhāskara though they differ in minor details and methods. Rāmānuja is such an important theistic thinker that all the later commentators of the Br.-sūtras have got very little original to add or to surpass him. Next to Śankara, his influence is so great that he is an important religious personality and his services to the cause of Hinduism are certainly incalculable.

One very important difference between Śankara and the other commentators is that Śankara's system is matchless and unassailable as regards its philosophical depth and subtilty.

He restricts himself mainly to the Śruti for his inspiration and support. His system, therefore, is certainly Śrauta in the full sense of the term. Sane and serious philosophers cannot but welcome his system. But the systems of the other commentators are not pitched on such a high level. They are satisfied with the gross and concrete ideas and images of the Purāṇas and never look into their inner significance. For this they have often to quote the Purāṇas. Their systems, therefore, are Paurāṇika. They are useful for the masses. Both the systems form the full-fledged Hinduism and are complementary. The question, whether Śankara has made sufficient provision for the masses, will be treated later on. But the above intellectual depth and sobriety have made Śankara's system liberal and comprehensive. But on account of this lack the systems of other commentators are narrow and intolerant not only towards others but even among themselves.

(To be continued.)

A NEW HYMN OF JNANA-SAMBANDHA

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.

I

ENGRAVED on the walls of south Indian temples are found countless inscriptions from which is being reconstructed, with a success which is as great as the labour is immense, not merely the course of political events in south India but also the history of its economic and social evolution.[1] But no south Indian inscription is perhaps more interesting than one found on the walls of the temple to Śiva[2] at Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal,[3] a village not far from Tiruvālūr,[4] the city which contends with Cidambaram for primacy among the holiest places of what may appropriately be called Tamil Śaivism.[5] Not merely

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[1] This paper is one of the chapters of a book, *Studies in South Indian Saivism*, which I completed in 1926 The book has remained in typescript and I see no early chance of its finding its way into print. I have therefore decided on publishing this paper separately. Except for the omission of a few unnecessary sentences, the paper is published just as it was written in 1926.

I am greatly indebted to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Sāminādu-Aiyar for having had the kindness to examine at length my reading of the stanza which I discuss in these pages, and for having approved of it without qualification. I cannot adequately express my obligations to Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyangar for valuable advice given in the ungrudging way that is characteristic of him. To Pandit S. Sōmasundara-Dēśikar I am obliged for valuable criticism of my reading of the stanza, and I am happy to be able to state that though he had read it differently he has warmly received and accepted the reading that I have proposed.

[2] Known now in this temple by the name, Puṇya-nātha-svāmin.

[3] About a mile and a half south-east of the railway station at Koraḍāchchēri, Nannilam taluk, Tanjore district.

[4] Known in literature as Tiruv-Ārūr (Tiru-v-Ārūr), or, shortly, as Ārūr.

[5] Saint Sundara, in his *Tirut-Toṇḍat-Tohai*, professed himself a devotee unto 'all those who were devoted to the Brahmanas of Cidambaram' (தில்லைவாழந்தணர்தமடியார்க்குமடியேன்), but, when he passed on to mention Tiruv-Ārūr he knew of no limitations of caste and confessed that he was devoted unto 'all those who were born in Tiruv-Ārūr' (திருவாரூர்ப்பிறந்தார்களெல்லார்க்குமடியேன்). 'The Brahmanas living in Cidambaram' (தில்லைவாழந்தணர்) and 'those born in Tiruv-Ārūr' (திருவாரூர்ப்பிறந்தார்) have been enrolled among the saints of this school.

is this inscription a record of a kind rarely met with, being in Tamil verse, nor merely is it a poem of Jñāna-Sambandha whom the followers of Tamil Śaivism consider, not unjustly, the greatest of their canonised saints and the foremost amongst their preceptors, but it is one of those poems which, perhaps late in the tenth century A.D., had been accounted irretrievably lost. Even the temple on the walls whereof this poem had been engraved went to ruin and was shut in by that most effective of barriers,—a natural hedge of cactus. Almost till yesterday a sturdy *pipal* flourished on a side of the *vimāna* of the central shrine, and it kept thrusting its roots into the joints of the wall so pertinaciously that the disintegration of the structure in a few years more was a certainty. Cactus and *pipal* had almost completed their work and people had well-nigh forgotten the antiquity of the temple, when a scholar[6] who is as keen on the scent for the reminiscences of the Saiva saints as he is devoted to the study of the Saiva literature, picked his way into the temple and discovered this inscription. He published immediately a pamphlet[7] in which he announced his discovery and furnished a transcript of the record. The Departments of Archæology and Epigraphy at Madras[8] having come to know of this discovery, the temple has been, for the present, rescued from immediate ruin. We cannot say if ruin, in one form or another, yet hovers over it: the cactus may still choke it up or the *pipal* may yet break it up, or, perhaps, a renovator, more thorough than reverent, may build it anew,—from foundation to spire,—casting out the inscribed stones, and, with them, the associations of the temple with a hallowed past

The inscription,[9] which is in the Tamil language and in the Tamil characters, runs along two prominent walls of the temple,[10] but not to any considerable length, and has for

[6] T. M. Swāminātha-Upādhyāya of Tiruk-Kaḷar, a village a few miles distant from this village of Tiruviḍaivāśal.

[7] In 1918 at Tiruv-Ārūr.

[8] *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, p. 9.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1918, No. 8 of 1918.

[10] One half occupies the southern wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the other half the west wall of the *mahā-maṇḍapa*.

companions some twenty-five records ranging in time from about 1075 A.D. to about 1250 A.D.[11] It contains no clue to its date but the script in which it is incised may be roughly assigned to the twelfth century A.D.[12]

The inscription has been previously published, twice by the discoverer,[13] and once by another scholar,[14] but two of the lines[15] have steadily baffled them. The readings of these scholars are identical, but, as the reading offered by them is obviously untenable, a fresh endeavour had necessarily to be made to decipher those two lines accurately. The stone has crumbled along those lines, leaving only patches of writing and some indications of writing which are little better than chisel-marks. Had the decay been more thorough the epigraphist would have had no chance whatever and should have left it to the scholar with a turn for poetry to exercise his poetical talents in filling in the blanks, unhampered by epigraphical limitations. Remnants of strokes and curves being, however, still discernible to the practised eye, conjectures at readings are still possible, though the conjectures have inevitably to be governed by the subsisting vestiges of writing. Readings which ignore or do not incorporate the remains of the writing on the stone are bound to be inadequate restorations of the original text. These two lines form a very appreciable portion of a stanza[16] of the poem, which, itself, is no more than eleven stanzas in length. A fresh examination of the inscription was therefore desirable,—indeed, necessary,—if the text was to be settled to the satisfaction of poet and epigraphist.[17]

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[11] See *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, Nos. 8-33 of 1918.

[12] *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, p. 149, para 22.

[13] By Swāminātha-Upādhyāya, in 1918, as already mentioned, and, again, in a Tamil pamphlet on Śaivism and the Tamil language, *Śaiva-Samayamum Tamiḻ-Pāḍaiyum*, (pp. 43-4), published at Mannargudi, Tanjore district, in 1921.

[14] Pandit S. Sōmasundara-Dēśikar, of Tiruv-Ārūr, in the *Śen-Tamiḻ* (1918-9), xvii. (169-172).

[15] Lines 14 and 15.

[16] The sixth.

[17] Visiting the temple twice, first in June 1919, and, again, in December 1921, I studied the inscription *in situ*. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna-Sastrigal, then Madras Epigraphist, had the kindness to place at my disposal, in 1919, two excellent estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba-Rao (later, his successor.)

The scribe has written the stanzas down as if he were transcribing prose; neither metrical feet nor metrical lines are marked off by devices such as spacing out. Though the close of each of the first three stanzas is indicated by a dash, from the fourth stanza onwards the dash gives place to the number of the stanza.

No peculiarities of palæography demand attention, except the shapes of the letters மு, ழு, டி and மூ, and these will be considered when we pass on to a consideration of the text. Attention may be drawn here to another feature of some little interest. In doubling வ and க, one letter is written above the line and the other below it. The practice is uniform in doublings of வ, but not so in doublings of க. This method of doubling is evidently due to the scribe being accustomed to write in *grantha* as well as in Tamil. The orthography is not flawless, but the most notable phenomenon is the almost uniform substitution of ந for ண.

The Hymn as Inscribed

1. மறியாரகாதெதநதையமமாதுமையொடுமபிறியாதெப
2. மமாநஉறையுமஇடமெநபாபொறிவாயவரிவணடுதநபூமபெ
3. டைபுலகிவெறியாரமலரிறறுயிலுமவிடைவாயெ—ஒவவாதவெ
4. நபெயிழையாவொளிமௌலிசசெவவாநமதிவைததவாசொவிடமெந
5. பாஎவவாயிலுமஎடலாகொடலமபொதுவெவவாயாவமமலருமவிடை
6. வாயெ—கரையாரகடலநஞசமுதுணடவாகஙகைததிரையாரசடைத
7. தீவணணா சொவிடமெநபாருரையாரமணியுஙகுளிரசநதமுமகொண்
8. டுவிரை[1]யாரபுநலவநதிழியுமவிடைவாயெ—கூசததழலபொல
9. விழியாவருகூறறைபபாசததொடும வீழஉதைததவாபறறுமவாசக
10. கதாசசாலிவெண்சாமரையெபொலவீசககளிஅநமலருமவிடை
11. வாயெ ௪—கிரியும புரமூநறையுமசெநதழலுணணாஎ
12. ரியமபெயததுநறவிலலிஇடமெநபாகிரியுநதருமாளிகைசசூழி
13. கைதநமெலவிரியுஙகொடிவாநவிளிசெயவிடைவாயெ ௫
14. கிளளைமொழியாளைஇகழநதவநமுததீததளளிததலைதககனை
15. ககொணடவாசாரவாமவளளிமருங்குலநெருஙகுமழலைசசெவவா
16. யவெளளைநநகையாரநடஞசெயவிடைவாயெ—௬

17. பாததொலிபாரிடமபாடநடஞசெயநாததொலியாநவிலுமமிடமெ
நபாகீததொலியுமகெழு

18. முமமுழவொடுவெநததொலியுமபயிலுமவிடைவாயெ எ எணணாத
வாககநஊாததைதெரித

19. துபபணணாதருபாடலுகநதவாபறறுமகணணாவிழவிறகடிவீதிகளதொ
றுமவிணணொகளுநம

20. வநதிறைஞசுமவிடைவாயெ அ புளவாயபிளநதாநஅயநபூமுடிபாதம
ஒளவாகிலநதெகுடுமஒரு

21. வறகிடமாமதெளவாாபுநறசெஙகழுநீாமுகைதநநிலவிளவாயநறவுண
டுவணடாாவிடைவாயெ

22. கூ உடையெதுமிலாா துவாாடைஉடுபபொாகிடையாநெறியாநகெழு
மிமமிடமெநபாா அடையாாபுர

23. மவெவஎழுவறகருளசெயதவிடையாாகொடியாநழகாாவிடைவாயெ ம
ஆறுமமதியுமபொதிவெணிய

24. ஞாாமாறிலபெருஞசெலவமலிவிடைவாமைபநாறுமபொழிறகாழியா
ஞாநசமபநதநகூறுநதமிழவலலவா

25. குறறமறறொரெய

The Hymn in Literary Form

மறியார் கரத்தெந்தை யம்மா னுமையோடும்
பிறியாத பெம்மா னுறையு மிடமென்பர்
பொறிவாய் வரிவண்டு தன்பூம் பெடைபுல்கி
வெறியார் மலரிற் றுயிலும் விடைவாயே. க

ஒவ்வாத வெண்பே யிழையா ரொளிமௌலிச்
செவ்வான் மதி வைத்தவர் சேர்விட மென்ப
ரவ்வாயிலு மேடலர் கோடலம் போது
வெவ்வா யரவம் மலரும் விடைவாயே. உ

கரையார் கடனஞ் சமுதுண் டவர் கங்கைத்
திரையார் சடைத்தீவணர் சேர்விட மென்பர்
குரையார் மணியுங் குளிர் சந்தமுங் கொண்டு
விரையார் புனல்வந் திழியும் விடைவாயே. ங

கூசத் தழல்போல் விழியா வரு கூற்றைப்
பாசத் தொடும்வீழ வுதைத்தவர் பற்றும்
வாசக் கதிர்ச்சாலி வெண்சா மரையேபோல்
வீசக் களியன்ன மல்கும் விடைவாயே. ச

திரியும்புர மூன்றையுஞ் செந்தழ லுண்ண
வெரியம் பெய்தகுன்ற வில்லி யிடமென்பர்
கிரியுந்தரு மாளிகைச் சூழிகை தன்மேல்
விரியுங் கொடிவான் விளிசெய் விடைவாயே. ௫

கிள்ளை மொழியாளை யிகழ்ந்தவன் முத்தீத்
தள்ளித் தலைதக்கனைக் கொண்டவர் சார்வாம்
வள்ளி மருங்குல் நெருங்கும் முலைச்செவ்வாய்
வெள்ளைந் நகையார் நடஞ்செய் விடைவாயே. ௬

பாதத்தொலி பாரிடம் பாட நடஞ்செய்
நாதத் தொலியர் நவிலும் மிடமென்பர்
கீதத் தொலியுங் கெழுமும் முழவோடு
வேதத் தொலியும் பயிலும் விடைவாயே. ௭

எண்ணாத வரக்க னுரத்தை நெரித்துப்
பண்ணார்தரு பாட லுகந்தவர் பற்றாங்
கண்ணார் விழவிற் கடிவீதிக டோறும்
விண்ணோர் களும்வந் திறைஞ்சும் விடைவாயே ௮

புள்வாய்பிளந் தானயன் பூமுடி பாத
மொள்வா நிலந்தேடு மொருவற் கிடமாந்
தெள்வார்புனற் செங்கழு நீர்முகை தன்னில்
விள்வாய் நறவுண்டு வண்டார் விடைவாயே. ௯

உடையே துமிலார்துவ ராடை யுடுப்போர்
கிடையா நெறியான் கெழுமும் மிடமென்ப
ரடையார் புரம்வேவ மூவர்க் கருள்செய்த
விடையார் கொடியா னழகார் விடைவாயே. ௰

ஆறும் மதியும் பொதிவேணிய னூரா
மாறில் பெருஞ்செல்வ மலிவிடை வாயை
நாறும் பொழிற்காழியர் ஞானசம் பந்தன்
கூறுந் தமிழ்வல்லவர் குற்றமற் றோரே. ௰௧

The inscription will thus be seen to be a poem of eleven stanzas in praise of Śiva, enshrined in the temple at Viḍai-Vāy, the literary form of the name of the village where the temple stands,—Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal.

That Tiru-Viḍai-Vāśal was well-known as a *kshetra*, or holy place, sacred to Śiva from about the days of Jñāna-Sambandha

is evidenced by the *Kshēttirat-Tiru-Veṉbā*, ‘the Holy Poem of Sacred Places,’ a poem of another saint of Tamil Śaivism, Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ, who must have lived before saint Sundara, and therefore before the ninth century A.D.[18] That poem is itself a hymn in praise of places sanctified by association with Śiva and contains a stanza which makes mention of a temple to Śiva at ‘Iḍai-Vāy on the southern bank of the Pāṇḍa-Vāy’.[19] The phenomena of word-building and sound-mutation in Tamil would easily account for the name ‘Iḍai-Vāy’ assuming the form ‘Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāśal’. The principal linguistic facts are these: *Iḍai-Vāy* may be split up into two halves *Iḍai* and *Vāy*; in common speech *Vāy* becomes *Vāyil* and *Vāśal*;[20] a prefix *Tiru-*, ‘holy’, is generally added as an indication of sacredness, and when the words *Tiru-* and *Iḍai* are brought together, a sound *v*, comes in to help the liaison. Here we have a full explanation of how the ancient name ‘Iḍai-Vāy’ could have become the modern ‘Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāśal’. It would have been noticed, however, that our inscription speaks, not of *Iḍai-Vāy*, but of *Viḍai-Vāy*. The *v* at the beginning of this name *Viḍai-Vāy* cannot be the product of liaison, for the name occurs in the inscription in that form in portions where rules of liaison cannot operate to bring about that result. We have therefore to accept *Viḍai-Vāy* as an independent form. Do ‘Iḍai-Vāy’ and ‘Viḍai-Vāy’, then, refer to the same place? Copyists of manuscripts of the *Kshēttirat-Tiru-Veṉbā* might have been responsible for changing *Viḍai-Vāy* into *Iḍai-Vāy*. For centuries, till the discovery of this inscription, all memory of a *Tēvāram* sung by one of

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18 If Sundara is to be dated in that century.

19 மாண்டுவாயங்காவாமுன்னமடநெஞ்சே
வேண்டுவாயாகிவிரைந்தொல்லைப் — பாண்டவாய்த்
தென்னிடைவாய்மேயசிவனார்திருநாம
நின்னிடைவாய்வைத்துநினை.—Stanza 7.

20 *Vāy* is a form intermediate between *vāyil* and *vāśal*. The name of this village occurs often in the forms ‘Tiruviḍaivāyil’ and ‘Tiruviḍavāyil’ in inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.; see *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, Nos 9, 12, 18, 20 and 25 of 1918.

the three great psalmodists of Tamil Śaivism in praise of the deity of this place had been lost; copyists who could not, therefore, have been aware of *Viḍai-Vāy* being the correct reading, had some ground for believing that *Iḍai-Vāy* must be the proper one, for in Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ's stanza, the phrase *teṉṉ-Iḍai-Vāy* would rhyme more closely than *teṉ-Viḍai-Vāy* to the *ninn-Iḍai-Vāy* of the next verse. That *Iḍai-Vāy* and *Viḍai-Vāy* might refer to the same place could be shown on other grounds as well. There should be *prima facie* no objection to the two forms being considered variants of the same name, for 'Iḍai-Vāy' is said by Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ, to have stood on the southern bank of the Pāṇḍa-Vāy[21] and we find to-day that the place which our inscription calls 'Viḍai-Vāy' does also stand on that river and on its southern bank. Further, we know of no other place along this river which bears a name in any wise similar to 'Iḍai-Vāy'. Could *Iḍai-Vāy* and *Viḍai-Vāy* be, then, names derived from kindred sources?[22] Other explanations, perhaps more probable, are furnished by the accidents of liaison in Tamil. Perhaps *Iḍai-Vāy* came to have *Tiru-*, that is, holy, prefixed to it in consequence of its having been eulogised by Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ. The prefixing of *Tiru-* would convert the name into 'Tiru-v-Iḍai-Vāy'—owing to Tamil rules of liaison, as already explained. Later on, however, this origin of the name having come to be forgotten, it might have been thought that the name was compounded of the two parts, *Tiru* and *Viḍai-Vāy*,—a process of splitting up the name which is equally in consonance with the rules of liaison and word-formation in Tamil.

[21] This is a branch of a branch of the river Kaveri

[22] The *viḍai* of *viḍai-vāy* is, in all probability, derived from Sanskrit *vṛshabha* 'bull',—an association which is appropriate to a *Śiva-Kshetra* on account of a bull, Nandi, being Lord Chamberlain to Śiva. The form *iḍu* cannot have come from *vṛshabha*, nor could it have come from *ṛshabha*, which, too, means 'bull' But we have a Vedic word *iḍā* which signifies the "cow kind" in general, and applies to bulls as well. The Tamil words *iḍaiyaṉ*, 'cowherd', *iḍai-cādi*, 'cowherd-cast', *iḍai-cēri*, 'cowherd-hamlet', *iḍaip-payal*, 'cow-boy', and similar words are all derived evidently from this word, *iḍā* If this conjecture is correct, we have an obvious explanation of how *viḍai* and *iḍai* came to be used as synonyms

Howsoever the name Tiru-Viḍai-Vāy was evolved, there can be no doubt about the hymn on Viḍai-Vāy having been sung in glory of the Iḍai-Vāy of Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ.

The text of this hymn is easily decipherable on the walls, except in the sixth stanza (lines 14 and 15 of the inscription) where the stone has peeled off considerably. The two scholars who have already edited this inscription have read the sixth stanza thus :—

கிள்ளைமொழியாளைக் கெழுவவாழ்த்திக்
கொள்ளைத் தலைதக்கனைக் கொண்டவர்
மள்ளல் நெருங்கு மழலைச் செவ்வாய்
வெள்ளைநகையார் விளிசெய்விடைவாயே.

From a literary point of view this version is unsatisfactory for at least five reasons. In the last two lines the 'damsels of pearly smile' (வெள்ளைநகையார்) are described, aptly indeed, as being 'red-lipped' (செவ்வாய்) and perhaps some charm may be discerned in their talk being called 'babbling' (மழலை), but no appropriateness can be seen in their lips being called 'strong' and 'close-set' (மள்ளல் நெருங்கு). The first two lines, if so read, must be made to mean that Śiva having eulogised 'her of the parrot-speech', Umā, 'despoiled Daksha of his head'. This is not a fairly adequate or correct rendering of the puranic account of the slaying of Daksha by Śiva. What is more, this reading of these two lines does not agree with the pattern which the poet has set for himself in this hymn. If we leave out of consideration the eleventh stanza, in which, as in other hymns, the poet gives us his name and assures salvation to those who chant the hymn, the other ten stanzas are divisible into two groups,— one set of them closing in the second verse of each stanza with the words இடமாம்[23] or இடமென்பர்[24] and another set closing, at the same point of each stanza, with the word பற்றூர்[25]. But in this stanza, the sixth, we find that none of these endings, nor one similar to them, is to be found,—if we

[23] See Stanza 9.

[24] See Stanzas 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10.

[25] See Stanzas 4 and 8.

accept the reading offered by those two scholars. But even if we ignore the objection that the stanza, according to this reading, does not conform to the pattern followed in the rest of the hymn, we have a much stronger objection to get over,—that without an ending such as the ones found in the other stanzas, the stanza neither yields sense nor satisfies grammatical requirements. Still another objection is that this reading does not allow of the stanza being scanned in the way in which all the other stanzas can be; there is a limp in the run of the verses,—especially where the verses are wanting both in sense and in grammar.

From a palæographical point of view also the reading is equally unsatisfactory. Characters which stare us in the face have been wholly ignored and spaces where remnants of writing can still be discerned, though with effort, have been passed over as if those were mere blanks. One look at the stone is enough to make it plain that the previous editors have passed by the two areas where the stones are most damaged without attempting to deduce the correct reading. If we may judge by their failure to indicate at least that their reading of those two lines is merely tentative or that some characters are undecipherable, we have to infer that they deny the possibility of any letters having been originally incised in those areas.

(To be continued.)

DATE OF "ISHTASIDDHI"—I

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

THOUGH *Ishtasiddhi* in certain of its ideas is pre-Śankarite in character, there is little doubt that it is, as a work, post-Śankarite in date, it being conceded that it was written by an author who came after Śankara. So it cannot be earlier than 825 A.D., taking that year as the latest for the death of Śankara. As it appears to be modelled on that of Surēsvarāchārya's *Brahmasiddhi* and *Naishkarmyasiddhi* even in regard to its format—it is, like them, divided into eight chapters, each consisting of a number of *Slokas*, with the author's own gloss—it has to be presumed that it was written after that work. Surēsvarāchārya—whether he is identical with Mandana Miśra or not—came next after Śankara and was undoubtedly a *guru* of the *Śringēri Math*. Since he is said, according to the *Śringēri Math* tradition, to have been *guru* for twenty years—he ought to have lived up to 845 A.D. at least. This brings us to the middle of the ninth century A.D. A work written in imitation of another suggests *prima facie* that the latter should have had great vogue. It would seem to follow, therefore, that *Ishtasiddhi* should have come a considerable time after the works of Surēsvarāchārya.

The first definite quotation from *Ishtasiddhi* is in Chitsuka's *Tattvapradīpika*, where he quotes, in connection with the doctrine of Avidya, with which *Ishtasiddhi* is specially concerned, the passage *Brahmaiva svavidya samsarati svavidya cha vimuchchyate*. This passage has been referred back by the commentator Pratyagrūpāchārya to the author of *Ishtasiddhi*.[1] If this be so, then the period of Chitsuka is of some importance for fixing the date of *Ishtasiddhi*. One recent writer has assigned Chitsuka to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.[2] Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj has suggested

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[1] See Nirnaya Sāgara Press Edition, 1915 Edn., page 363.

[2] See Mr. T. M. Tripathi's *Īnandagnāna's Tarka Sangraha*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series III, Introduction XX, note 2 (1).

that Śrīdharaswāmi, who admittedly modelled his commentary on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* on that of Chitsuka's, lived anterior to Chaitanya, whose date it is now agreed to be 1485-1533 A.D., for the latter held Śrīdhara's work in high esteem. If Śrīdhara can be referred back to the middle of the fifteenth century, then Chitsuka might—Mr. Kavirāj opines—be set down "to the end of the fourteenth century".[3] This, however, seems too late a period for Chitsuka. As Hemādri quotes Śrīdhara in his commentary on the *Muktāphala* of Bōpadēva, Śrīdhara must be older than Hemādri, who composed his voluminous work entitled *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi* about 1300 A.D.[4] If Hemādri may be assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., as well we may, we may have to push back the date of Śrīdhara to a date anterior to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. As Śrīdhara's commentary on *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is in imitation of Chitsuka's commentary on the same *Purāṇa*, Chitsuka's work must have had considerable vogue by about the middle of the thirteenth century As time would be required to build up such a popularity, we may have to assign Chitsuka to at least the beginning of the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, at least half a century earlier than Śrīdhara. This inference is confirmed by the inscriptional records referred to below. Mr. Dāsgupta has assigned Chitsuka to a date shortly after Śri Harsha, who lived about 1190 A.D., and wrote his *Khandana Khanda Khadya*, perhaps the most celebrated work on the Vedānta dialectic.[5] Chitsuka not only wrote a commentary on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, but also an independent work *Tattvapradīpika* (or *Tattvadīpika*) already referred to. A couple of lithic inscriptions found at the Simhāchalam temple in the Vizagapatam District afford ground for fixing Chitsuka's age in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. One of these records a gift of gold in Śaka 1206 (=1284 A.D.) by Brāhmanadāsapāndya while Chitsuka Sōmayājin was managing

[3] See *Catalogue of Skt. MSS.* acquired for the Government Skt. Library, Benares, Introduction p. 5.

[4] A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 431. This work of Hemādri has been edited in the *Bibl. Ind.* His *Srāddha-Kalpa* runs to 1,700 pages in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

[5] Dāsgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 419.

that temple. The other record registered in Śaka 1142 (=1220 A.D.) a gift of land by Chitsukabhattāraka *alias* Narasimha Muni to the temple.[6] These two records would thus seem to confirm to some extent the views of Mr. Dāsgupta and Mr. Tripathi that Chitsuka belonged to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Evidently Chitsuka lived to be an old man, as the range of these two lithic records well shows. If he was in managerial charge from 1220 A.D. to 1284 A.D. of the Simhāchalam temple, *i.e.*, a period of sixty-four years, then he should be presumed to have lived to be quite old. Even supposing he was but twenty years of age at the time of the earlier record, and lived for a short period after the inscribing of the later record, he may be inferred to have lived to about 85 years of age. This long period would give sufficient time for his disciple Sukhaprakāśa to become the *guru* of Amalānanda (1247–1260 A.D.), the author of *Vedāntakalpataru*, the well-known commentary on the *Bhāmatī* of Vāchaspatimiśra, who has been set down to the middle of the ninth century. It would follow from what has been thus far said, that Chitsuka's quotation from the *Ishtasiddhi* pushes back the age of the latter to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The passage quoted by Chitsuka from the *Ishtasiddhi* is also quoted by Ānandabōdha in his *Nyāyamakaranda.*[7] Ānandabōdha's date, however, is uncertain. Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj conjecturally suggests that "he might be supposed to have preceded Chitsuka by an interval of fifty years or so", (*i.e.* 1325 A.D., on the basis of the date assigned by him to Chitsuka). He gives no reason whatsoever for this "supposition". If this Ānandabōdha is the same person as the one of that name who was the author of *Pramānaratnamāla*, a treatise on the Advaita system, and the *Śabdanirnayavyākhya* (or *Dīpika* or *Nyāyadīpika*), a commentary on the *Śabdanirnaya* of Prakāśātman, a work elucidating the nature of the valid cognition resulting from *Śabda*,

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[6] See *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1899-1900, App. Table A, Nos. 134 and 365 of 1899.

[7] See Benares Edition, p. 314.

according to the Advaita view, then he may perhaps have to be assigned to a date later than that assumed by Mr. Gōpināth Kavirāj. For we know that Prakāśātman, the author as well of a commentary on Padmapāda's *Panchapādika,* has been set down to 1200 A.D.[8] If he lived about 1200 A.D., his commentator Ānandabodha should have to be assigned to a date posterior to him. He may be conjecturally assigned to *circa* 1300 A.D., which would make him an elder contemporary of Chitsuka. I say "an elder contemporary," because Chitsuka commented on the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabōdha.

From the above, it would seem that Chitsuka is the earliest to have known *Ishtasiddhi* in some form or another. It was evidently a work already famous and studied with care. The inference is, therefore, possible that it should have been well known about *circa* 1100 A.D.—so well known indeed as to be quoted by a writer of eminence like Ānandabōdha and Chitsuka, without naming its author, Vimuktāchārya (? Avimuktāchārya). There is some direct evidence bearing on this point of its celebrity which may be referred to here. Nārāyana Panditāchārya specifically mentions the *Ishtasiddhi* as an important work from which Achyutaprēksha, the *guru* of Ānandatīrtha, quoted and taught Ānandatīrtha and his fellow students. (See *Madhvavijaya,* Sarga IV, Slokas 44-48.) It is there suggested that Achyutaprēksha's interpretation of the introductory part, explaining the thirty-two points referred to in the work, did not prove satisfactory to Ānandatīrtha, who was eventually asked to offer his own explanation of it. This shows that *Ishtasiddhi* was a regular text-book taught in the days of Ānandatīrtha and that it had accordingly come to be reckoned as a classic on the doctrine of *ēka-jīva-vāda,* a doctrine which indeed goes back to days long anterior to

[8] See Dāsgupta, *loc. cit.*, 469. Mr. Hiriyanna assigns Prakāśātman to 1000 A.D. (see *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 340). If this be so, then his commentator Ānandabōdha should be assigned to a date somewhat later than 1000 A.D.—say *circa* 1050 A.D. If this proves acceptable, then there is nothing out of the way in Chitsuka becoming his—Ānandabōdha's—commentator, between the years 1220-1284 A.D., for which we have indubitable inscriptional records for him.

Śankara. To attain this important position, it should have possessed not merely philosophical excellence, but also a respectable antiquity to recommend it to that position. Nārāyana Panditāchārya, the author of *Madhvavijaya*, was the son of Trivikrama Panditāchārya, who is styled *Kavikulatilaka* in the colophon to his work by Nārāyana Panditāchārya. This Trivikrama Panditāchārya was a contemporary of Ānandatīrtha, and is said to have been defeated by him in a discourse and to have become a follower of Ānandatīrtha. The date of Ānandatīrtha has been fixed with the aid of certain lithic records found at Srikūrman in the Chicacole Taluk, Ganjam District.[9] According to these, he was born in or about 1238 A.D. and died in 1317 A.D. If while he was yet a student, *Ishtasiddhi* was considered a classic fit for exposition to students in *maths*, it might be presumed to have been in existence as such for a long time anterior to it. This brings us back to, say, *circa* 1100 A.D., *i.e.*, a century anterior to the student days of Ānandatīrtha. It may be, if anything, even older than that and 1050 A.D. may not be altogether too fanciful a date for the work.

Among the later writers who mention *Ishtasiddhi* are Madhusūdhana Sarasvati, author of *Advaitasiddhi*[10] and Jnānōttama, who wrote the *Ishtasiddhi Vyākhya*, a commentary on *Ishtasiddhi*.[11] This latter work is also known as *Ishtasiddhi Vivarana* and is quoted under that name by Ānandānubhava, the author of *Padārthatattva*.[12] Madhusūdhana Sarasvati has been placed by Gōpināth Kavirāj, in the middle of the sixteenth century.[13] Mr. Dāsgupta states that Madhusūdhana came after Dharmarājadhvarīndra, author of *Vedānta Pāribhāsha*, whom he assigns to about 1550 A.D.[14] As regards Jnānōttama, he describes himself at the beginning of his

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9 *M.E.R.*, 290 of 1896.

10 *Madras T.C.*, IV. B. No. 3453, pp. 5148-9.

11 *Madras T. C. of Skt. MSS.*, IV. 1. A. No. 2971, p. 4309.

12 *Madras T. C.*, IV. 1. A. No. 2981, p. 4327; *Madras T. C.*, IV. 1. B. No. 3350, pp. 4990 91.

13 *Loc. cit.*, p. 4.

14 *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 420.

work as a native of the village which had become famous as "Mangala in the Chōlamandala". He says his father was his *guru* and that he read all the *Darśanas* under him. The village "Mangalam of Chōlamandala" mentioned by him may be the "Mangalam" referred to in a couple of lithic records found at Sikkil in the Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District. One of these is an inscription found on the west base of the Kola Vāmana Perumāl temple at Sikkil. The inscription registers the fact that the temple was caused to be built in stone—evidently it was reconstructed in stone—by one Ayappillai, who is described as a "native of Mangalam".[15] Evidently at the time of this record "Mangalam" (of the Tanjore District) was a well-known place. The Kola Vāmana Perumāl temple has on it another record which is one of Lakkanna Dannāyaka, "Lord of the Southern Ocean" and dated in Śaka 1366, Rudhirōdgāri (1444 A.D.). This seems to show that the place continued to be important in Vijayanagar times as well. It will be seen that Ayappillai's reconstruction took place before Lakkanna's record. Apart from that, Mangalam should have been well known even in Ayappillai's time. This fact enables us to identify it with the "Mangalam" mentioned in a record of the tenth year of the Chōla King Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulōttunga-Chōladēva (Kulōttunga-Chōla II). This inscription registers the fact that the members of the assembly *Rāja-Rāja Brahmamangalam*, a *Brahmadēya*, in Tiruvārur-Kurram, a sub-division of Geya Mānikka Valanādu, being assembled in the *mantapa* called Dēvāśriyan (*i.e. Dēvāśraya*), exempted from taxes certain lands belonging to the Tiruvārur temple.[16] The particulars mentioned in this record yield for it the date Monday, 30th November 1142 A.D.[17] The "Mangalam" of this record has thus to be located in the neighbourhood of Tiruvārur (modern Tiruvālur) in the Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District, whose beautiful

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15 *M.E.R.* 101 of 1911.

16 *M.E.R.*, No. 533 of 1904.

17 *E.I.*, XI. 289.

temple of Śiva is famous all through the South of India. Jnānōttama, who speaks distinctly of his native village "Mangalam" as "far-famed in the Chōla Kingdom", should have belonged to this Brahmadēya in Tiruvālur, not far away from the Chōla capital, being only 15 miles west of Negapatam. Sikkil is to-day a Railway Station on the Tanjore-Nagore section of the S. I. Ry. It is next to Negapatam and only four miles from the latter town. Tiruvālur is ten miles from Sikkil, and Tanjore is 34 miles from Tiruvālur Junction. There are other places of the name of "Mangalam" —one for instance in the Salem District but that would be in the Kongu country; and there is a Mangalakurichchi (called in olden days Perunkarunai Chaturvedi–Mangalam) but that again would be in the Pāndya country. Hence the identity of the "Mangalam" mentioned by Jnānōttama with the Brahmadēya in Tiruvālur seems well founded. Since Jnānōttama says that it was "far-famed" during his time, it is possible he lived during the time it was in a flourishing state. This may be set down to a period not far away from the fall of the Chōlas or about the middle of the fourteenth century. The interval between 1050 and 1100 A.D., the probable date of *Ishtasiddhi* and 1331 A.D., when the Imperial Chōlas ceased to exist as a ruling power and the first dynasty of Vijayanagar kings came on the scene, would have rendered possible a resuscitation of interest in Vimuktāchārya's work to necessitate the writing of a commentary explaining, if not restating, its teachings. There was the greater reason for this reinforcing of the *Ishtasiddhi* standpoint, because it was exactly during this interval of time (1050 A.D. to 1331 A.D.) or near about, that six other commentators on the *Brahma-Sūtras* had arisen in the land and attacked almost every vital point of view in the *ēka-jīva-vāda* position as propounded by Śankara. These were the following arranged in the chronological order:—[18] Bhaskara (*circa* 1000 A.D.) from the Bhedābheda

[18] The grounds on which this chronological order has been arrived at are discussed at some length in my edition of the *Srīkara Bhāshya*, now in the Press.

point of view; Rāmānuja (*circa* 1140 A.D.) from the Viśiṣṭādvaita point of view; Ānandatīrtha (1238 A.D.) from the Dvaita point of view; Nimbārka (1250 A.D.) from the Dvaitādvaita point of view; Śrīkanta (1270 A.D.) from the Śaiva Viśiṣṭādvaita point of view; and Śrīpati (*circa* 1400 A.D.) from the Bhedābhedātmaka point of view. This array of great writers who took a view different from Śankara's, shows how necessary it was that the old teachings contained in the *Ishtasiddhi*, perhaps one of the most brilliant expositions of the old *ēka-jīva-vāda* doctrine, should be driven home afresh by a commentary on it written by one who was evidently a profound master of it. It is significant that Jnānōttama styles Vimuktātman as "*Nru Kēsari*," "man-lion," an euphemism for an invincible writer, as great as a writer on the *ēka-jīva-vāda* doctrine as Vishnu in his Narasimha incarnation proved himself to be over the demon Hiranyakasyapu.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLV

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Lhota Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Flat Head of the Spotted Owlet, and of the Small Size of the White-faced Wagtail and of the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail.]

THE Spotted Owlet (*Athene Crama*, Blyth) is found throughout the peninsula of India, from the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sind *to Assam and Kachar*, and from the base of the Himalayas to the extreme south; but it is not found in Ceylon, though it was obtained by Hume from the island of Rāmeswaram. It is also common in the Irrawaddy Valley from Prome upwards, and probably throughout the drier tracts of Burma.

This bird, on account of its semi-diurnal habits, its noisiness, and its fondness for human habitations, is the best-known owl in India. As a rule, it does not ascend the hills not does it frequent the forests. It remains on trees growing in cultivated tracts of the countryside, especially in gardens. It commonly roosts and breeds in the roofs of houses. It feeds principally on insects and partly on mice, shrews, lizards or small birds. Its usual call is a double note; but it keeps up a continual chatter at times, particularly in the evening after sunset. Long before dusk, it comes out from its hiding-place to perch on a pole or fence or telegraph-wire.

The White-faced Wagtail (*Motacilla leucopsis*, Gould) is small in dimensions being 8 inches long, while its tail measures 3·60 inches in length. During the winter, it visits the eastern portion of the Empire *from Assam down to Central Tenasserim*. To the west, it is found in Nepal and in the plains of Mirzapur. It is also found in the Andaman Islands. This wagtail is also found throughout Eastern Asia where it breeds in Eastern Siberia and China.

The Hodgson's Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla hodgsoni*, Blyth) also visits, during the cold weather months, the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Kashmir *to Assam, extending through the*

Khasi Hills, Kachar and Manipur to the Salween District of Tenasserim.

The Lhotas are a branch of the Naga race and belong to the Mongoloid family of human kind. They live in the Naga Hills of Assam and Eastern India, in which regions the three birds, namely, the Spotted Owlet, the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail, described above, are found during the winter months. Consequently, the Lhotas are familiar with these three species of birds and their physical peculiarities. They have, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned ætiological myth to account for the flat head of the Spotted Owlet and the small size of the Whitefaced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail :—

Long, long ago, about the time that the Great Darkness came upon the earth, all the birds (for in those days the kinds of birds were not so different as they are at the present day), met in council to decide as to how night should follow day. With one accord, they called on the owlet (most likely the Spotted Owlet) to give his opinion in the matter. Thereupon the Spotted Owlet said: "Let there be nine days' darkness and nine days' light." "No, no," said all the other birds, and smacked the Spotted Owlet on this side of his head and on that. It is for this reason that, to the present day, the Spotted Owlet has a flat head.

Then all the birds said: "Who will speak now?" On this, the wagtail (most likely, the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail) said: "Listen to us. Then we will speak. Let us make darkness and light alternately, day by day." "Yes, yes," said all the birds, and stroked the wagtails all over their bodies. The White-faced Wagtails and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtails used, at that time, to be as big as village-cocks. But by reason of the fact that all the assembled birds stroked them so much, they are, at the present day, so small in size.*

* *Vide The Lhota Nagas*, by J. P. Mills, I.C.S. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., pp. 196 97.

From a careful study of the foregoing ætiological myth, we find that—

(1) The Lhota Nagas are keen and careful observers of nature.

(2) They are familiar with the Spotted Owlet which lives in their country, and have, therefore, noticed its peculiar bodily feature, namely, its flat head.

(3) They are also acquainted with the White-faced Wagtail and the Hodgson's Pied Wagtail, both of which visit their country during the winter months. Consequently, they were struck by the small size of these two birds.

(4) As the Lhota Nagas are a primitive people and live on a low plane of culture, they are ignorant of the laws of biology, which regulate the formation of the bodily features of birds and beasts. In consequence of this, they were unable to hit upon the real scientific causes from which originated the Spotted Owlet's flat head and the two Wagtails' small bodily size. They, therefore, invented the aforementioned myth to account for the origin of the bodily features of these three birds.

(5) Just as many other savage peoples think that there is hardly any difference between human beings on the one hand, and beasts and birds on the other, the Lhota Nagas also have the same sort of mentality and labour under the impression that birds can act and speak like human beings. They have, therefore, described the birds as meeting in council, discussing the subject-matter in hand, and deciding it by taking the opinions of each of the assembled birds.

(6) Most likely, the Lhota Nagas have the custom of physically punishing a member of their community, who may give an opinion which is not acceptable to the other members of their tribe.

(7) Similarly, the Lhota Naga mode of appreciating a person who gives an opinion which is accepted by other members of their community, appears to be the practice of stroking or patting his body.

(8) There is a tradition current among the Lhota Nagas, which narrates that, in very ancient times, a Great Darkness overshadowed the earth. Most likely, this is a reminiscence of a complete eclipse of the sun which caused the earth to be enveloped in complete darkness. The Lushai-Kuki clans living in the hills to the east of Assam have also a similar tradition. These peoples think that the solar eclipse is caused by reason of the fact that a ghostly being named the *Awk* devours the sun and that, on one occasion, this being so completely devoured this great luminary that a Great Darkness overshadowed the earth.

(9) The wagtails' decision that light and darkness should daily follow each other is quite in accordance with astronomical theory according to which the sun is believed to shine above the horizon for 12 hours and to disappear therefrom during the remaining 12 hours of the day. This shows that the uncultured Lhota Nagas have an inkling of astronomical theory about the causation of day and night.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXIII

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On a Thado Kuki Folktale about the Metamorphosis of a Sorceress into a Plantain-Tree or Banana-Tree.]

The Plantain-tree (*Musa paradisiaca*) and the Banana-tree *M. sapientum*) are called in Sanskrit *Kadalī*, in Bengali *Kalā*, in Hindi *Kelā* and in Tamil *Vashaippazham*. This fruit-tree is widely cultivated throughout India but especially in the regions bordering the seashore. The fruit of the former (*M. paradisiaca*) is eaten fresh when ripe; and that of the latter (*M. sapientum*) when it is cooked. There are many kinds of each differing in size and flower. The flowers of both the species of *Musa* are eaten as a vegetable. This curry of the Banana-flowers is called in Bengali *mochārghanṭa*. A fine fibre may be obtained from the stems of this tree, which is, however, inferior to the Manilla-hemp (*Musa textilos*) in the manufacture of rope and cordage. But it can be utilized for manufacturing into paper, for which the leaves are suited. The tree bears fruit only once, after which it is cut down and either used as a fodder or thrown away. In Bengal the pith of this trunk is called '*Thor*' and cooked into curries. A black dye is obtained from the rind of the unripe fruit of some varieties. An alkaline ash is procured by burning the dried leaves and leaf-stalks of this tree which can be used for washing clothes with in lieu of fuller's earth. The flowers of this tree (*mochā*) are considered cool and astringent and are considered as a very beneficial food in cases of diabetes. Its root is a very useful fodder.

The Thado Kukis or the Thados are a Mongoloid people who dwell, in scattered communities, in certain portions of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur Kingdom, and the Chin Hills and the Somra State, both of which localities are in Burma.

The Thado Kukis, no doubt, cultivate the Plantain-tree (*Musa paradisiaca*) and the Banana-tree (*M. sapientum*) which figure in their folklore. They narrate the following interesting folktale which describes how a sorceress, when killed, was metamorphosed into a plantain-tree:—

Once upon a time, there lived a spiteful bully who used to wear a full-blown flower in his hair, and a modest and kind-hearted lad who preferred to wear, in his hair, a bud only. The two young men went out to court a girl named Ashijowl. While going to the house of this intended bride, the bully maltreated those whom he met on the way while the kind-hearted lad behaved well and courteously to them. The girl rejected the overtures of her bully-suitor who was sent out with contumely. But the modest and kind-hearted suitor found favour with her, and, with the assistance of the animals whom he had defended, performed the impossible tasks which Ashijowl's parents called upon him to do.

Then the successful suitor and Ashijowl were married. While the former was taking the latter home, a wer-lioness or a sorceress who had, by her magical powers, metamorphosed herself into a lioness, met them on the way, and, having treacherously devoured the bride Ashijowl, took her place without her husband knowing of it while a fruit-tree sprang from Ashijowl's blood.

The bridegroom plucked a fine fruit from the top of this tree and, bringing it home, placed it in a safe place.

While the husband and her false bride went out to work in the fields, Ashijowl would emerge from the fruit and tidy up the house.

One day, however, while Ashijowl was cleaning up the homestead, her husband suddenly came into the house, and, seeing her, caught hold of her. Having heard from her the whole story of how the wer-lioness had treacherously killed her and taken her place, *the infuriated husband killed the metamorphosed sorceress from whose corpse sprang up a plantain-tree, and whose severed head was changed into a stone.*

In spite of warnings, Ashijowl tried to pluck a leaf from the plantain-tree which devoured her again. But her husband rescued her by cutting down the plantain-tree in the inside of which he found his wife in a miniature shape.[1]

From a study of the foregoing Thado Kuki folktale, we find that :—

(1) The Thado Kukis are great believers in the arts of magic and sorcery.

(2) They also believe that some of them become so proficient in these arts that, by means of the potency of their magical spells, they can metamorphose themselves into the shapes of lionesses and endow themselves with the blood-thirsty nature of these beasts.

(3) They also believe in the existence of the vegetation-spirit which dwells in the blood and flesh of human beings. From Ashijowl's blood sprang a fruit-tree of which the name has not been given. While from the wer-lioness's corpse sprang the plantain-tree or the banana-tree.[2]

(4) The Thado Kuki folktale of Ashijowl bears a strong similarity to the Angami Naga and Lhota Naga folktale entitled Hunchibili.[3] In the former story, the heroine Ashijowl is treacherously killed and metamorphosed into a fruit-tree : while, in the latter also, the real heroine—the God's daughter—is treacherously murdered and changed, first into a bamboo-plant and, secondly, into an orange-fruit.

(5) The incident of the heroine Ashijowl's emerging from the fruit, during the absence of her husband and his false

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[1] For the folktale see "*Notes on the Thado Kukis*" by William Shaw (Assam Civil Service), published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XXIV (1928), No. 1, pp. 106-107.

[2] For a fuller discussion of the belief in the existence of the Vegetation-Spirit, see my article entitled: "*On Two Dusun Ætiological Myths about the Paddy-Plant*" which has been printed in *Man in India* (published from Ranchi), Vol. VI, pp. 140-49.

[3] For the folktale of Hunchibili, *vide The Angami Nagas* by J. H. Hutton, London ; Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 280-82.

wife, and doing the household work and the subsequent discovery of this transformation by her husband, bears a striking similarity to closely parallel incidents in the Angami Naga folktale of Hunchibili.[1]

(6) The Thado Kuki folktale illustrates the moral truth that virtue will triumph over wickedness at last and that treachery and murder cannot go undetected for a long time.

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[1] For similar incidents in the folklore of the Santals of the Santal Parganas, the Lepchas of Sikkim and the American Indians, see my papers entitled: "*The Dog-Bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore*" (published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1928) and "*Further Notes on the Dog-Bride in the Santali and Lepcha Folklore*" (published in *J.B.O.R.S.* for September to December 1929).

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
Bombay, 1st December 1933.

To

THE SECRETARY,
MYTHIC SOCIETY,
BANGALORE.

SIR,

The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, which I had the honour to attend as a Delegate of your Society, was held at Warsaw, the capital of Poland, from the 21st to the 28th of August 1933. Above six hundred scholars from practically all over the world gathered at Warsaw to discuss the most diverse historical topics, to study the most varied historical problems, to communicate to each other their successes in research, their hopes for the future, their enthusiasm and their optimism. Naturally Poland gave the largest contingent of scholars, but Italy was the first of the foreign nations in sending a representative delegation to the Congress. Ninety-four Italians were present. When I boarded the International Express "Rome-Warsaw" in Vienna in the evening of the 19th I found that all my fellow-travellers and all those who were filling up the coach were Italians. When we entered the Polish frontier on the following morning, the Custom authorities had no work in examining our luggage. At the magic phrase "*Nous sommes Congressistes*" that unpleasant affair was at once eliminated. There were also numerous delegations from France, from England and from America; from the East we were four: two delegates from Egypt and two from India—the writer of these lines and one of his old students, Mr. H. V. Nunes, M.A.

The meetings and the sections of the Congress were held according to detailed programme without any hitch or difficulty, thanks to the marvellous organization of the able Secretary, Dr. Thaddeus Manteuffel and a band of University students of both sexes, his helpers. There were twenty-eight

sections dealing with as many historical aspects under which the 452 papers or communications sent to the Congress were grouped. There was a section on Oriental History to which most of the contributions sent from India were allotted.

It was a pity that only two delegates from India were able to attend the Congress. India arouses a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and curiosity among the Polish people. We had to pose several times in the streets of Warsaw at the request of students and press reporters, and on the last day of the Congress we had the satisfaction of seeing our portraits sold in all the corners of the city, in two of the most popular papers of the capital. We were proud of being introduced to Mrs. Helena Willman-Grabowska, a Polish lady who is teaching Sanskrit in the University of Crakow, and who read a paper on the *Political Ideas of Aśoka's Time*, being a short commentary on Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. We had also great pleasure in meeting Miss Iva Grueber, a young girl who is studying Sanskrit in the University of Lwow, and who reads Hindustani, as a result of her private study during her leisure hours. Another girl, a student of the University of Warsaw, has formed a study circle among her fellow-students in order to study the history of India and her present political and social problems.

The papers submitted to the Congress which dealt with Indian subjects were the following :—

T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum) .. *The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India.*

Helena Willman-Grabowska (Crakow) .. *The Idea of the State in Ancient India.*

William Coelho (Bombay) .. *Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnataka.*

Hasmukh Sankalia (Bombay) .. *Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency.*

Edward A. Pires (Bombay) .. *Who were the Rulers of Pātalīputra before the Guptas?*

Henry Heras, S.J. (Bombay) .. *The Pallava Monarchs, Founders of the Religious Architecture in the Tamil Country.*

A. Appadorai (Madras) .. *Irrigation in South India in the Middle Ages.*

Alfred Martineau (Paris) .. *Parallelism between Dupleix and de Bussy.*

George M. Moraes (Bombay).. *Christian Leanings of the Mughal Prince Dara Shukoh.*

T. K. Shahani (Bhavnagar) .. *Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India.*

Hedwige Nunes (Bombay) .. *Jesuit Sources of Indian History.*

R. Subba Rao (Rajahmundry) *The Administrative History of the Eastern Gangas in the Eleventh Century A.D.*

H. N. Sinha (Nagpur) .. *Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity.*

D. F. Colaço (Bombay) .. *Culture and Art at the Court of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore.*

Adrian Duarte (Karachi) .. *Piracy in the Reign of the Emperor Aurangzib.*

S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (Madras) .. *The Value of Tradition in Indian Historical Research.*

The two Indian delegates were invited together with all the British subjects to some refreshments at the British Embassy on August 25th, and were kindly entertained by Mr. Gordon G. M. Vereker, Chargé d'Affaires, in the absence of the Ambassador.

Finally, I am glad to inform you that after talking with the President and Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. I have great hopes that soon we shall be able to found a Committee of Oriental History under the auspices of the International Committee.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. HERAS, S.J.

REVIEWS

Saarda

(The Tale of a Rajput Maid)

BY D. M. GORWALLA

(Price As. 10.)

THE annals of Rajasthan are a veritable mine of Rajput romance and chivalry. *Saarda* is a tale of a Rajput Maid as the title itself says and Mr. Gorwalla has rendered it in simple English verse. Without going into the details of prosody, we would at once say that such publications will be very useful for students of social history.

M. V.

Abhidhana Vasthu Kosha of Nagavarma

EDITED BY A. VENKATA RAO, B.A., L.T.

and

PANDIT H. SESHA AYYANGAR

(Madras University Kanarese Series No. 3. Price Rs. 3-8-0.)

THE Madras University is to be congratulated on the publications of its various departments which have been appearing at quick intervals and all of which bear on them the hall-mark of original research and scholarship.

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in his 'Karnataka Kavi Charite' speaks of two Nagavarmas, one of the tenth century and the other of the twelfth century A.D., and he ascribes "Vasthu Kosha" to Pandita Nagavarma who lived about 1145 A.D. The authors of the work under review conjecture that Nagavarma must have been twenty-five years of age in 1150. Three manuscripts, *viz.*, two from Mysore and one from Upper India, have been collated in the preparation of this work, but the one from the North is believed by the editors to be nearer to the original. The work has been creditably produced with a comprehensive index and an appendix containing variant readings. A glossary of difficult words may be added in a succeeding edition.

M. V.

Catalogue of Wall-Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan

COMPILED BY FRED. H. ANDREWS, O.B.E.

(*Government of India Publication. Price Rs. 5-6-0 or 8s. 9d.*)

SIR AUREL STEIN'S expeditions to Central Asia in 1906-08 and 1913-16 and the great and valuable hoards of Fresco, Mural and other wall-paintings brought by him to India are well known as well as his work on the results of these expeditions, 'Serindia', 'Innermost Asia' and 'Ruins of Desert Cathay'. All the paintings date from the early centuries A.C. and the earliest of them goes back, perhaps, to the late Parthian or early Sassanian times. The care, trouble, anxiety and expense incurred in removing these slabs from the walls, packing them, their safe conveyance to India along all sorts of tracks on camels, yaks and the like, opening them after arrival at the destination, their mounting on glass sheets with aluminium backs can be easily imagined. It is great satisfaction that they are all now safely housed in the Delhi Museum. Mr. Fred. H. Andrews has given the finishing stroke to Sir Aurel's great work by compiling an exhaustive catalogue of these paintings, for which he deserves our sincere congratulations.

M. V.

Indian History for Matriculation

BY K. P. MITRA

(*Macmillan & Co., Ltd.*)

PRINCIPAL MITRA has included the most recent researches in Indian history as well as the present constitution in the publication under review. It is difficult to say how far theory problems relating to India's past or recondite details bearing on modern administrative problems form a necessary detail for study in the S.S.L.C. and Matriculation classes. While exceedingly profitable for discussions in debating societies, these should, we think, be properly excluded from a text-book intended for a Secondary Course. The book under review, however, is not merely that though intended as such. It is a very useful handbook for a student of Indian history and the author's views are expressed

on many an intricate problem with great care and moderation. The illustrations are not only numerous but instructive.

In the earlier chapters, his views may, in the light of further discussions, require some modification. The book from the tenth chapter onwards gives a connected history of India from Harsha to the present day. We are glad to find that a new method in teaching Indian history has been adopted in this book by attempting to present a continuous narrative to enable the reader to gain a proper perspective. By courtesy of the "Statesman" has been included a map of India showing over twenty European States superimposed on the Indian map, probably with a view to illustrate the oft-repeated statement that India is a continent or sub-continent equal in bulk to Europe *minus* Russia.

S. K.

Bhasa Kavi

BY A. R. KRISHNA SASTRI, M.A.
(*Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore*)

EVER since his foreword to the Kannada translation of *Svapnavāsavadatta* (Bangalore Karnataka Sangha) some years ago, Prof. Krishna Sastri has been collecting material relating to the mysterious Sanskrit playwright Bhasa and his works. A quarter of a century of strenuous research has fairly established that the author of all the thirteen Trivandrum plays of Ganapathi Sastriar must have been one and the same person, who is Bhasa.

In the able introduction has been analysed all the material available on the subject and placed before the public in a thoroughly understandable form interspersed with discussions, opinions and conjectures. Pandit Ganapathi Sastri's early view that Bhasa belonged to the fifth or sixth century B.C. has been accepted by some scholars and disputed by others who are inclined to place the thirteen dramas between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.C. Prof. Krishna Sastri's date for Bhasa is about the third century A.D. on the fairly convincing ground that Bhasa must have been posterior to Aśvagosha and anterior to Kālidasa. The rest of the book is devoted to a critical study of the thirteen dramas themselves. Svapnavāsavadatta, Pratimānātaka, and

Pancharātra are dealt with in separate chapters while the one-act plays and miscellaneous plays occupy one chapter each. We congratulate the author and the Karnataka Sangha on this excellent publication which is a lucid contribution to the extant literature on Bhasa.

M. V.

Katyayanasmrti

OR

Vyavahara (Law and Procedure)

BY P. V. KĀNÉ, M.A., LL.M.

(*Reprint from the "Hindu Law Quarterly", Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*)

HINDU Law has latterly been attracting considerable attention particularly with reference to inheritance and succession. Gains of learning, the order of succession, the sister and the sister's son, Strīdhana and the woman's estate have undergone and have been undergoing considerable modification if not under the judge-made law at least under the enactments of the legislature. These are calculated to reflect as far as possible the growing tendencies of modern times and to keep as far abreast of the present-day requirements as possible.

Mr. Kāné has done well to reprint his articles in the *Hindu Law Quarterly*, Bombay, on Vyavahāra, its law and procedure of Kātyāyana Smṛti. Kātyāyana represents the high watermark of Smṛti literature and judicial procedure and the substantive laws of contract, inheritance and the like. His age and his importance in ancient Hindu Law deserve a separate treatment as he comes next only to Nārada and Bṛhaspati amongst Smṛti writers of law and procedure. Several verses of Kātyāyana indicate his adoption of Bṛhaspati as a model and an author entitled to the highest respect. In his introduction, Mr. Kāné considers the relations between Kautilya and Kātyāyana and on the ground of advanced general jurisprudence, rules of procedure and substantive law found in it regards Kātyāyana as considerably later in date than Kautilya. Even comparing Kātyāyana's work with modern jurisprudence, it is considered that there are startling modern tendencies indicated in some of his rules, such as those regarding the contents and

characteristics of good plaints and written statements, the evidence of witnesses and documents, the doctrine of constructing *res judicata* and the like. Dating Kātyāyana as more or less a contemporary of Justinian we may say, with the late Sir Henry Maine, that the most celebrated system of ancient jurisprudence began as it ended with a code and compare Kātyāyana Smṛti with the Institutes of Justinian. It is interesting to note that Kātyāyana like the most modern reformers, perhaps, was the greatest Indian champion of the rights of women to their property, thus differing in this respect from Justinian under whose *codex mulierum est tutela.* women who looked to protection to parents in childhood, to husbands in youth and to children in extreme age were not entitled to own separate property and continued under perpetual tutelage. But under Kātyāyana, not even the husband nor even the son had any power over her peculiar wealth, Sandāyika, over which she had absolute power of disposal even as regards immoveable property and if they deprived her of it they were liable to be fined. An English woman had to wait to earn this freedom till the last days of the nineteenth century, under the several married women's property acts. It is generally considered that a Hindu living under the joint family system with recourse to an adoption could not make a will, but Kātyāyana was somewhat modern even in this respect, for he provided that the son or other heir was liable to deliver or pay the promised gift made by the deceased for a religious or charitable purpose even after the death of the promiser. Hence it follows that human reason all over the world reaches fundamentally identical solutions of practical problems when untrammelled by the dead weight of long forgotten scriptural authority or hide-bound judge-made law.

The text is excellently printed with footnotes; the translation is clear and contains ample references and the several appendices form a useful addition to the work for which the author deserves our best congratulations.

S. S.

Ṛgveda-Samhitā—Part II

(*Published by the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8-0: 2s. 6d.*)

Ṛgveda-Samhitā—Maṇḍala I

(*Published by the Vedic Research Institute, Poona. Price Rs. 12.*)

THE first part of Ṛgveda-Samhitā was noticed in the *QJMS* for October 1933; with the present part begins also the publication of translations into English, Bengali and Hindi of Sāyaṇa's Introduction to his commentary on the Ṛgveda. Footnotes which explain technical terms like *sampradāya*, *stotra*, *śastra*, *nyāya*, *lakṣaṇa*, *pramāṇa*, *ātmāśraya* and so on, are added for the benefit of the lay reader. An adequate estimate of the value of Sāyaṇa's Introduction as a permanent contribution to Vedic studies is hardly possible within the compass of a review: but judged even from the modern standpoint, one who approaches the Vedic problem will marvel at Sāyaṇa's exposition and solution of the several questions raised therein.

At a period of political turmoil and religious disturbances when people evinced little interest in the already obsolete sacrificial cult of the Veda and when the very foundation of indigenous culture was being rudely shaken by the social and political upheavals in the land, Sāyana and his brother, that far-sighted statesman and scholar, Mādhava, brought out under their auspices the various commentaries and original works expounding and popularizing the various branches of knowledge, including besides literature and philosophy, even the technical sciences like medicine and astronomy. They gathered around them a large band of learned scholars who devoted themselves ungrudgingly to this task of reviving the country's interest in its great heritage. On a similar occasion in our history, the great work begun by the savants of the West is continued by our own scholars, and of the bodies interested in it, the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta and the Tilak and Bhandarkar Institutes of Poona occupy a foremost place.

We welcome in this connection another edition of the Ṛgveda

text with Sāyana's commentary published by the Vedic Research Institute (of the Tilak Mahāvidyālaya), Poona. The book is in a way a reprint of Max Müller's, the second edition of which appeared in about 1890. The Editorial Board has taken advantage of the opportunity to collate fresh MSS. of the text and of Sāyaṇa's commentary in particular and offer a cheaper edition of that great work. Authentic publications of works from which the versatile commentator quotes have also been of help while the Oxford and Bombay editions have provided the mainspring. A brief list of *variæ lectiones* at the beginning illustrates the nature of the principles of editing followed. Readings different from those adopted by Max Müller have been noted and sometimes justified on specific grounds. Some errors in the text of the commentary have also been pointed out—*e.g.*, 'मन्त्राभिधानात्' is a quotation introduced by the verb सूत्रयति the subject of which is भगवान् जैमिनिः. But it actually occurs in Śabaraswāmin's commentary on Jaimini's Aphorisms and not among the aphorisms themselves. The editors seem to have indeed exercised great care in verifying the statements in the commentary by referring to their original sources. Why *Grantha* and *Malavālam* readings have not found favour with the editors is not satisfactorily explained. But their importance is by no means affected as they have been noticed in the footnotes and as a discussion on the similarities and differences in the MSS. is hoped to be done later on. One wonders in passing whether no MSS. of either the text or the commentary are at all accessible in Nepal which, we learn, has lately been not unwilling to co-operate in such useful attempts. While the printing and general get-up of the volume are satisfactory, it is desirable that some more care was bestowed on the prefatory notes and on the errata. One consistent system of diacritical marks may be followed. (The elision of the final अ, so common in the pronunciation adopted in the North need not, we think, have persisted in transliterating Sanskrit words like Mandal for instance.) Though these are very minor things, with a little care bestowed upon them, they help to make any publication attractive.

In an eloquent foreword, the President appeals for 'an

exhaustive word-hunting' in the Veda. "It is dangerous to follow tradition," he declares, "even the tradition established by European scholars, as these latter have based their interpretation often on the authority of the ancient Indian commentators." What the President means is not clear; let us hope that he does not advise the rejection of tradition altogether. One may see with advantage what Max Müller has to say on the value of tradition for interpreting the Veda. (See for example pp. xlii-xlv, Vol. I, 2nd Edn.)

A study of Vedic literature is confronted with many a difficult riddle to solve. Questions like the human authorship of the Veda, its simple yet enigmatic poetry, the cult of the sacrifice, the social orders, above all, the import of the immortal Upaniṣads—are things to baffle human intellect for ever. Considerable progress in solving these problems was, however, made in the last century owing to a great extent to the labours of Western scholars. The new era in Sanskrit learning inaugurated by their advent into the field was characterized by a vigorous search for MSS., by descriptive catalogues of MSS., by a systematic publication of works and by comparative studies in grammar, philology, mythology, religion and the like. On the other hand, stereotyped native scholarship, restricted to a few intellectuals, came to be narrowed down to the study of a few subjects like grammar, logic and metaphysics whose subtlety and technical perfection are commemorated in aphoristic literature. Vedic studies in particular meant mere recital of the texts—though we must thank this system as it has preserved the texts intact—so much so the Vaidik merited the somewhat uncomplimentary appellation of a छान्दस. Here and there erudite scholars could be found as in every age everywhere. But, in general, continuity of tradition (*sampradāya*) was seriously hampered. The intervention of the West naturally justified itself in the exploration of some fields that were buried under the *débris* of centuries. It cannot be denied too that a great freedom was exercised by some scholars over there in interpreting their new material. In their passion for 'unprejudiced' treatment of the subjects, they failed to discern the meaning of the systems peculiar to this country. But one

thing remains clear that work of the proper kind still remains to be done in a large measure. It behoves the new generation of scholars here to make common cause and, benefiting if possible by methods of study enunciated by the West, try to interpret to ourselves and to the world the glory or mystery of Ancient Literature.

H. L. H.

EDITORIAL

WE congratulate the following on the respective distinctions conferred on them: Mr. S. Hiriannaiya, Retired Revenue Commissioner—Rajasevasakta of the Ganda Bherunda Order; Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore and one of our Vice-Presidents—Mahamahopadhyaya; and Mr. B. Krishniengar of Secunderabad —Rai Saheb.

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* *

We heartily felicitate the President and Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the celebration of the 150th Anniversary of that Society on the 15th of this month at Calcutta. It was on the 15th January 1784 that Sir William Jones founded the Society under the name of "The Asiatick Society". The name was later changed to its present designation probably to distinguish it from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Asiatick Society's junior by thirty-nine years. The Bengal Society which is the parent of all the sister societies established all over the world for research in Oriental Learning is doing magnificent work and its issues of 'The Journal and Proceedings' bear ample testimony. We wish the 'Asiatick Society' renewed success in centuries to come.

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* *

In his admirable address to the Members of the American Oriental Society, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt discussing the problems concerning the origin of some of the great Oriental religions makes a brief survey of all recent discoveries in the fields of archæology, epigraphy and allied subjects inasmuch as they pertain to a study of the historicity of religious teachers. He then selects a group of religious founders consisting of Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Laotse and Jesus and deals exhaustively with the available material about the supposed existence of each one of them. While it must be admitted that no strictly contemporary record about the existence of any of these founders as a human being has so far been brought to light, it cannot be asserted that the absence of these can be taken as proof positive to altogether

deny the existence of these persons if not at the traditional dates at least at some other time. Prof. Schmidt maintains that an unbiassed investigation has already been able to discover traces of still earlier traditions of such a character as to enhance the probability that in all these cases there stands in the background a distinct human personality, however dimly seen, and different from later conceptions.

***

No. 25 of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute is practically the first of the posthumous works of the late Shams-ul-Ulama, Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi who passed away nearly a year ago. The Qisseh-I-Zartûshtiân-I-Hindûstân and the article on Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism in Macoudi's *Kitab* of the tenth century A.C. are worth a study not only by the adept Parsi but more by students of comparative religion and history. A good deal of Sir Modi's works are still in manuscript and their publication is awaited.

***

Mr. K. A. Krishnaswamy Iyer in the course of a short article on "The System of Ramanuja" in the *Philosophical Quarterly* for October 1933, sums up: "Sankara's position is explained. Madhva and Ramanuja give no satisfactory reason for the existence of real evil in a real world created by a real Merciful God. Ramanuja was a great and a good man. He whole-heartedly worked for the cause he espoused. If he had been free from the trammels of a sect, his high intellect and lofty views might have enabled him to produce a system more perfect and less obnoxious to criticism than the one with which his name must be associated for generations without end."

***

A very important document relating to the reign of Akbar from his birth to about 1579-80 was discovered some years ago in the State Library of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur. This, however, is only a fragment of the work of Tarikh-i-Muhammed Arif Qandahari often quoted. Mr. Sri Ram Sharma gives a detailed table of contents of the reign of Akbar dealt with in this fragment in the *J.R.A.S.* for October 1933. Students of Indian

history will be grateful to H. H. the Nawab of Rampur if the work is published in its original form with an English translation thereof. No better person could undertake the work than Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar who is said to have taken a transcript of the manuscript.

***

In the same journal we would invite reference to two more articles: "The Origin of the Aryan Gods" by A. B. Keith and "An Interpolation in some Manuscripts of the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī" by M. B. Emeneau of Yale University.

***

The following are a few details about Hinduism in Ceylon at the present time from an article by Swami Jagadiswarananda in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for November 1933:—(1) Though Ceylon is well known as an ancient seat of Buddhist thought and culture, Hinduism is no less dominant in the island. (2) Hindus in Ceylon are followers of four prominent Saivite saints of India. (3) They are practically the worshippers of Pillair or Ganesh and Kandaswamy or Kartikeya. (4) The pre-historic temple of Muniswara Siva at Chilan has a lure for the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. (5) The Sinhalese folk songs and folk dances have close affinity with those of the Hindus. (6) Many of the Sinhalese ancient customs, rituals and observances are of Hindu origin. The article in question is worth a perusal from an ethnological point of view also.

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Man for October 1933 contains a descriptive article on "The Coracles of South India" by James Hornell. These are manufactured in varying sizes according to requirements; and in the mode of construction, also, there are slight differences. Every little thing that is observed which to the local man may seem quite the ordinary custom, if promptly contributed to some journal, will help the anthropologist and the historian of social life and its development a great deal.

Books received during the Quarter ending 31st December 1933.

Presented by :—

Government of Mysore—

Mysore Hospitals and Dispensaries—Report for 1931-32.

Mysore Government Stationery Depot—Report for 1932-33.

Mysore Government Press and Book Depot—Report for 1932-33.

Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad—

Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society—1919-20.

Do. do. July 1916.

Guide to Ajanta Frescoes.

Guide to Ellora Cave Temples—by James Burgess.

Rapport Préliminaire sur l'Interpretation des Peintures et Sculptures d' Ajanta—by A. Foucher.

Shitāb Khan of Warrangal (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 9)—by Hirananda Sastri.

Gavīnath and Pālkīguṇḍu Inscriptions of Asoka (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 10)—by R. L. Turner.

Paktal Inscription of the Reign of the Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 4)—by L. D. Barnett.

Government of India—

Census of India, 1931—Vol. I.

Do. do. Vol. II.

—by J. H. Hutton.

Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture (Archæological Survey of India, N. I. Series, Vol. XLVII)—by R. D. Banerji.

Bhandarkar Institute, Poona—

The Report for 1932-33.

Mahabharata, Facc. 7—by V. S. Sukhthankar.

University of Madras—

Abhidhana Vasthu Kosha of Nagavarma—by A. V. Rao and H. S. Ayyangar.

Unadisutras in Various Recensions—by T. R. Chintamani.

The Calendar—Vol. I, Pt. I.

Do. do, II,

Sir Charles Todhunter, Mysore—

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, IV Series, Vol. XV.

Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II—by Edward Perroy.

Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiya, Bangalore—

Three Years in Tibet—by Ekai Kawaguchi.

History of China for 1912 : 52 cartoons—by 'Valdar' and others.

Progress Bookstall, Mysore—

ಚುಟುಕ

ಕಡಲೆಪ್ಪುರಿ.

ಕಂದನ ಕಾವ್ಯಮಾಲೆ.

ತುತ್ತೂರಿ.

—All by G. P. Rajaratnam.

Shrine of Wisdom, London—

The Classic of Purity.

The Author—

Saarda—The Tale of a Rajput Maid—by D. M. Gorwalla.

Purchased—

Veda of Black Yajus School, Vol. I.

Do. do. II.

(Harvard Oriental Series Nos. 18 and 19)—by A. B. Keith.

Printed at The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, by T. Subramania Aiyar, Superintendent.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXIV APRIL, 1934 No. 4

NOTES ON POPULAR RELIGION IN BIHAR

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Hindus of Bihar believe not only in the higher gods of the Hindu Pantheon, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, but also in a host of minor deities, consisting of godlings and goddesslings, whose names are neither mentioned in the Hindu works on mythology nor are they recognized and accepted by the orthodox Brahman hierarchy. These minor deities are not represented by anthropomorphic images and, being mostly of animistic origin, are of incorporeal essence. In order that they may be enabled to receive the offerings and libations presented by their votaries, they are represented by some sort of symbols. These symbols are, sometimes, a little heap of earth called a *pindi*; sometimes, a brick placed on a raised mound; sometimes, a log of wood; sometimes, a rough or unhewn stone; and, sometimes, a hewn stone; or even an old image. These are besmeared with vermilion; libations and offerings are made to the animistic deities they represent; and, occasionally, a pair of clogs and a small wooden seat are placed before them.

As regards the symbolising of these animistic deities by rough or unhewn stones, I may mention here that, in the district of Patna in South Bihar, there is a deity named Goraiyā whose worship is popular in that locality. He is a male hero of Dusādh origin, who is reported to have been the

chieftain of a band of robbers. In the songs sung in his honour, he is spoken of as a great warrior who came from Delhi with a handful of followers, and died fighting at Mehnawan near Sherpur in the Patna district, where his principal shrine is located. He is now worshipped throughout the district by the low-caste peoples, and even by some members of the higher castes such as Bābhans. *The usual representation or symbol of this godling is a stone or mound of earth under a tree outside the village*, before which offerings of goats, sweet stuffs, milk and clarified butter are presented to be taken away afterwards by the Dusādhs.

In Bihar the *Barham Daitya* or the spirit of a Brahuan who has met with a violent death, often becomes the tutelary deity or *dihwār* of the whole village. The worship of this godling is usually carried on under a tree, very often a banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), which he is supposed to reside in. The trunk thereof is besmeared with vermilion and *a mound of earth is erected*, on which are placed clay figurines of horses or elephants, and offerings are presented of flowers, betel-nuts and the like. The worship is performed by a special priest called the *Bhakta*, who is not necessarily a Brahman; and sometimes, he is inspired by this deity and utters prophecies which are implicitly believed in by the devotees.

Then, again, the district of Gaya is intimately connected with the rise and spread of Buddhism. Here Buddha, the great founder of Buddhism lived for a long time and promulgated the tenets of his religion. As the result of this, the district of Gaya is rich in Buddhist remains, namely, Buddhist images, *chaityas* or small shrines and other relics. The Hindus of this part of Bihar have appropriated these old images and *chaityas* and, after bedaubing them with vermilion, have conferred on these the names of some deities of animistic origin who are unknown to the orthodox Brahman priesthood. These new-fangled godlings and goddesslings, under new designations, are now worshipped and prayed to by the Hindus, especially of the lower classes.

On this point, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley says:—

"Images of Buddha and other Buddhistic images and *chaityas* are found in temples of all kinds, under trees and in the open air in all parts of the district (Gaya), and are treated as different deities, *lingas*, etc. Such images have been enshrined in hundreds of temples, in temples of Śiva, of Mahādeva, of Viṣṇu, of the Sun, of Śītalā, the goddess of disease, and others. Hundreds of *chaityas* have similarly been set up in *Śivālayas* filling the places of *lingas*. But this is simply because these images and *chaityas* have been found lying about and have been utilized by the Hindus as images of their own deities or as the *linga* of Mahādeva. They are worshipped by the ignorant Hindus, not as Buddha or as Buddhistic emblems, but as their own gods and symbols.

"In the same way, stone images of Buddha dug up in the fields are not infrequently set up to represent the various evil spirits propitiated by the lower castes; but the worshippers do not know that they are Buddhistic images. There must be something tangible to represent a godling or even a malignant spirit, and the image is something tangible that will serve their purpose, as they can rub vermilion on it or pour a libation over it or sacrifice a fowl, goat or pig before it. In all cases, the rites are Hindu and not Buddhistic, and no traces of Buddhism are visible. At Bodh Gaya, it is true, the large stone image of Buddha on the ground-floor of the temple is worshipped by some low-caste Hindus in the neighbourhood; but this is a recent innovation and no orthodox Hindu thinks of doing so or regards the worship as anything but incongruous and spurious. In Gaya, as in other parts of Bengal, Buddhism is dead as a separate and current religion. It was a branch that sprouted from the tree of Hinduism, grew vigorously for a considerable period, and then withered off."* Then again, in North Bihar, especially in the district of Champaran, the Hindus have appropriated the famous edict-pillars erected by Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India, dubbed them with Hindu names and worship them with Hindu rites.

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* *Vide The Gazetteer of Gaya.* By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1906, Page 74.

At the village named Lauriya Araraj in the district of Champaran, there is a famous edict-pillar which is worshipped and prayed to by the Hindu villagers on every day and every month of the year, according to the worshipper's sweet will and pleasure. It is known to the villagers of the locality as Bhim Singh Bābā. But the officiating priest and several other people of the neighbourhood stated to me that this godling was called Bhim Bali Bābā or the godling named Bhim the Strong.

Although the Asoka-pillar standing in the village of Lauriya Araraj is called Bhim Bali Bābā or "the godling named Bhim the Strong", there are two other pillars (erected by the Emperor Asoka) in the district of Champaran, which are called Bhim Singh's staff or *lāthi.*

Of these two pillars, one stands in the village of Lauriya Nandangarh which is situated in the Bettiah Sub-division of the district of Champaran and lies at a distance of fourteen miles to the north-west of the town of Bettiah. This pillar is also worshipped and prayed to by the Hindu villagers of the locality under the belief that it is a phallus or *lingam.* They call it Bhim Singh's staff (or *lāthi*) and present to it offerings of sweetmeats and fruits.

The other Asoka-pillar stands in Manza Rāmpurwā, a village situated close to that named Pipariyā which lies at a distance of thirty-two miles to the north of Bettiah. The Tharus of the locality call this Asoka-pillar by the name of Bhim's *lāthi* (or staff).

On a careful examination of the cults connected with the Asoka-pillars at Lauriya Araraj and Lauriya Nandangarh, I find that they are characterised by the undermentioned interesting features:—

(1) A Buddhist memorial or object of great historical interest has been looked upon with feelings of great veneration by the ignorant Hindu villagers of the countryside and has been gradually adopted by them as an object of their worship.

(2) Legends have been fabricated by the aforementioned Hindu villagers, whereby the origin of these stone pillars has

been very fancifully explained by the supposed connection thereof with a hero of the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*.

As regards the point No. (1) *supra*, I may state that the evolution of the cult of the pillar-godling Laur Bābā is most likely to be attributed to the fact that, after the fall of Buddhism, the Hindus removed from the pages of their *Purāṇas* all historical accounts of Buddhism that were embodied in them and, at the very same time, altered all the legends and traditions of the country with the object of effacing all traces of Buddhism from the chronicles of India. In this connection, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen says:—

"In the temples, the images of Buddha were still worshipped, but the priests called him by the name of a Hindu god such as Śiva or Viṣṇu. In one place, I found an image of the Buddha worshipped under the name of the feminine deity Chaṇḍi. In the temple of Tilabhāndeśvara at Benares, a very glorious image of Buddha is called Jaṭāśankara or '*Śiva with knotted hair*'. The *Jaṭā* or knotted hair is nothing but a fig-tree under which Buddha attained Nirvāṇa. Though the Buddha is recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Hindus did not tolerate his worship or anything connected with Buddhism in this country during the early days of the Renaissance."*

Another characteristic of the popular religion in Bihar is the worship of natural phenomena. I have come across only one instance of it. The Pāsis of Bihar earn their livelihood by drawing toddy from the palmyra-palms by tapping the crown thereof and by selling this toddy. It is characteristic of this caste that they worship or present offerings to the east wind for the purpose of obtaining a copious flow of the toddy wine from the palmyra-palms they have tapped.†

* For a fuller discussion of the cult connected with the Asoka-pillars in the district of Champaran, see my paper entitled: *Studies in the Cults of the District of Champaran in North Bihar*, which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March-June 1924.

† *Vide The Gazetteer of Patna.* By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Revised Edition by J. F. W. James, I.C.S. Patna: Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa Government Printing, 1924. Page 57.

IS THE ADVAITA OF ŚANKARA BUDDHISM IN DISGUISE?

By G. V. Budhakar, B.A. (Hons.)

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 265*)

Side by side with the Pāncharātrins there are the Bhāgavatas referred to in the *Harṣacharita* (8. 5, p. 220). Can they be those, who unlike the Pāncharātrins, were liberal worshippers of Viṣṇu and who professed the Advaita of the type, which Śankara maintains in philosophy and followed "भक्ति" and "कर्म" in life. Śankara calls his system, "भागवतं मतं" thrice (18. 48) and "औपनिषदं दर्शनं" (13. 31) in his commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. He is very near such a school. In his commentaries there are references to "शालिग्राम" and "विष्णुप्रतिमा" (भ. गी. भा. 4. 24 ; ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 3. 14, 1. 2. 14, 1. 2. 7, 3. 3. 9, 4. 1. 3, 4. 1. 5 ; छां. उ. भा. 8. 1. 1, 6. 16. 2 or 3 ; बृ. आ. उ. भा. 1. 3. 1, 3. 7. 3, to नारायण 5. 1. 1 ; तै. उ. भा. 1. 6. 1, 1. 8 ; प्र. उ. भा. 5. 2). He begins his commentary on the *Gītā* with great regard to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Yet his open mind is prepared to respect the old Vedic "पंचायतनपूजा" (आश्व. गृ. सू. प. 2. 10) as it is stated by him in his commentary on the Kenopaniṣad (1. 5. पद्भाष्य) thus:—उपास्य: विष्णुरीश्वर: इन्द्र: प्राणो वा ब्रह्म भवितुमर्हति।. Besides he has composed many hymns in praise of different gods and goddesses. Prior to Śankara there was such a school; because the *Vaikhānas Gri. Sūtra*, which is referred to by Viśvarūpa (*Yā. Śmri.* Com., 3. 3. 46) and Medhātithi (*Manu Śmri.* Com., 6. 21) is completely monist in philosophy and is devoted to Viṣṇu (*Vaik. Gri. Sūtra*, 1. 9; 4. 10; 1. 5; 1. 7; 2. 4; 3. 7). In 8. 9 it says that the Advaita is the highest end:—

क्षेत्रज्ञपरमात्मनो योगं ज्ञात्वा यदतीन्द्रियं **सर्वजगद्बीजमशेषविशेष** नित्यानन्दममृतरसपानवत्सर्वदातृप्तिकरं **परं ज्योतिस्तत्प्रवेशकं** इति **ज्ञायते** ।

This school might be of the Vaikhânasas or Bhâgavatas. Ānandagiri in his *Śankaravijaya* has the following verse, which refers to these Vaikhānasas:—

भक्ता भागवताश्चैव वैष्णवाः पांचरात्रिणः ।
वैखानसाः कर्महीनाः षड्विधा वैष्णवा मताः ॥ ch. 6.

It is not known what the source of this verse is but from the reference given just now the distinctions among the Vaiṣṇavas are clear. The Pāncharātrins alone were not the Vaiṣṇavas nor "भक्ति" was their special property. They say that Śankara is a dry philosopher and a cold logical juggler. If by "भक्ति" they mean that it is unbridled sentimental excess Śankara is not surely a devotee of that type. In him reason and sentiment are combined and well balanced. He has reasoned faith. The different poetic and pathetic appeals he makes to religious aspirants sound like impassioned prose. They are both mystical and sincerely devotional. They are in his commentaries on the *Brihadāraṇyaka* (4. 3. 35; 4. 4. 2), *Chhāndogya* (6. 14. 2), *Mundaka* (1. 2. 12; 3. 1. 2), *Aitareya* (2. 1), *Praśna* (5. 1-2; 6. 8), *Kaṭha* (6. 1), *Bh. Gītā* (10. 11). He accepts the necessity of "भक्ति" or "सगुणोपासना" to as a step his Advaita. This is clear from his following allusions:—

भक्तिप्रसादं स्नेहाभिषिक्तेन । भ. गी. भा. 10. 11.
जपोपवासदेवताराधनादिभिः । ब्र. सू. भा. 3. 4. 38.
विष्ण्वादिप्रतिमास्थानीये भक्त्यावेशितब्रह्मभावे । प्र. उ. भा. 5. 2.
तस्मान्मुमुक्षु देवाराधनपरः श्रद्धाभक्तिपरः· · · · स्यात् ।
बृ. आ. उ. भा. 1. 4. 10.
इति श्रद्धाभक्तिभ्यां भावविशेषेण चोंकार आवेशयति । बृ.आ.उ.भा. 5. 1. 1.

His hymns are famous for their ardent devotion. He combines in him deep philosophical thought, subtle reasoning, and acute as well as constructive dialectic with the simple poetical pathos of a true devotee. As a philosopher he handles the most abstruse and philosophical topics with masterly ease and accuracy. His remarks as a serious metaphysician and constructive philosopher are illuminating and instructive in the following lines:—

न तु अन्तरालकल्पनायां प्रमाणमस्ति । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 4. 4. 7.

न च वस्तुनोऽर्धजरतीयत्वं कल्पयितुं युक्तं तत्त्वज्ञानविवक्षायाम् ।. . . .

. . . . अतो न संशयितोऽर्थः . . . . वाच्यः परहितार्थिना ।

बृ. आ. उ. भा. 1. 4. 10.

न चैतच्छद्मरूपेण वाक्येन रक्षणीयं वस्तु । भ. गी. भा. 4. 18.

There are similar remarks in his commentaries on the *Praśna* (6. 3) and *Māndūkya-Kārika* (3. 17-18) Upaniṣads. In all these, he is definite and unequivocal. He always breathes sane and healthy reasoning. His style also is simple yet grand, and graceful and full of perspicuity. Here we cannot but quote the words of an eminent Indian scholar: "Fascinating, weird music; lucid, chaste, powerful, balanced expression; universal, unsectarian, fearless, loving expression; —these are some of the characteristics of his varied literary style. He was a real master of the philosophy he preached; he can express it in half a verse or a quarto volume of many hundred pages. He would readily break a lance with any adversary, atheist, materialist, ritualist, magician, ascetic, Yogi, or Tāntric".* The charge that a philosopher can never be a poet or in other words "भक्ति" cannot be reconciled with "ज्ञान" in life is stoutly disproved by Śankara and Madhusūdana Sarasvati. The latter was the author of अद्वैतसिद्धि and भक्तिरसायन. We have dealt with this point here at great length to disprove the belief held in some quarters that Śankara in his dialectical zeal has thrown theism overboard. He accepts it as a necessary step but does not exalt it at the cost of the Highest Ideal. From the foregoing discussion, it must have been clear that the Sūtrakār's main responsibility was to codify the teaching of the Upaniṣads in its entire aspect and that of a commentator to elucidate and give the exposition of the same. If both of them have achieved this task satisfactorily they are held authoritative. They have no independent value. Their codification and exposition should make the nearest possible approach to the teaching of the Upaniṣads. We have shown above that both the Sūtrakār and Śankara have discharged

* M. N. Dvivedi's *Imitations of Śankara*, Intro., p. ix.

their duties quite ably and faithfully. The commentators like Bhartṛprapancha, Bhāskara and others have laid great emphasis on qualified monism and distorted the passages, which go against their view. It is also brought to notice that the Pāncharātrins tried to superimpose their views on the sūtras although the Sūtrakār directed his polemics against them. What then was the view of the Sūtrakār as understood by the people beginning from the Vaiśeṣikas down up to the Pāncharātrins, whose views he attacks? Many modern scholars think that on account of the sketchy and enigmatic wording of the sūtras it is very difficult to find out the original intention of the author or to come to any definite conclusion. If this is really so, no interpretation of the sūtras which they give can be meant by the author. The different schools, which the author criticizes, are unanimous in ascribing a definite view to him when they attack him in their works. All of them agree with the view that he is systematising the Brahmādvaita of the Upaniṣads. This is what Śankara expounds. The author of *Vyāsatātparyanirṇaya* has dealt with it to some extent. But he has omitted the Buddhists and Jains.

It is necessary to make the philosophical and religious outlooks of both these schools clear so that we can understand the baselessness of the charge that Śankara's philosophy is simply Buddhism in disguise. Those, who bring this charge, are realists. They want to keep for ever the distinction between subject and object. They are afraid of the idea of getting themselves merged into the Boundless lest they should lose their individuality. They want that God, the world, and individual souls should be three distinct realities for ever. They are satisfied with this lot and question the possibility of any standpoint higher than this. In short, to them taste is truth. They want to read reality in terms of their taste. This they want to emphasise as ultimate and final. But Śankara says that truth is not always pleasant or agreeable. Those who have not got sufficient moral equipment and mental ability should stick to this goal. But those, who have keen and penetrating intellect, complete ethical preparation,

and a heart that is full of noble sentiments at once take up the high jump and merge themselves into the Eternal to gain immensely and immeasurably. In his commentary on the *Praśna* Upaniṣad (4·10) Śankara thus observes :— यस्तु सर्वत्यागी (सः) सर्वज्ञः । To him truth is not momentary emotionalism limited by narrow individualism. But it is the eternal and never-ending Bliss Itself with which one can never part. It is perfect Bliss, Knowledge, and Existence. He arrives at this with the rigorous logic of philosophers and the highest mystical experience. At this stage the proper interpretation and import of scriptural passages are actually realized without the help of learnedly ignorant explanations. Thus the triology of the highest spiritual experience, the absolutistic scriptural passages in the Upaniṣads and other works, and the logical transcendentalism of philosophers stands on an invisible and unimpeachable height where the attacks of realists and theists are aimless and misdirected.

This dizzy height is bound to be negative and unrealizable for ordinary men. Śankara anticipates this objection in his commentary on the *Chhāndogya* (8. 1. 1) :—

दिग्देशजाति फलभेदशून्यं हि परमार्थसदद्वयं ब्रह्म मन्दबुद्धीनामसदिव प्रतिभाति ।

When the realists and theists confound the standpoint of Śankara with Buddhistic nihilism and dry idealism, they mean it in this sense. We have already made the subtle and metaphysical distinction clear. Unlike the two Buddhist schools he accepts the relative reality of the world. He neither establishes nor demolishes the question of creation. He accepts it as it is but the ultimate inquiry, he says, is beyond human reason. It is, therefore, wise to realize the Brahman, the fountainhead of all mystical and metaphysical goal, where the question of dualism or causation is māyā. It is no use indulging in aimless speculation. He observes :—

अतीतकोटिरहितस्य संसारस्यान्तवत्वं समाप्तिर्न सेत्स्यति युक्तितः ।

मां. का. भा. 4.30.

In his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2. 4. 11) he gives the dissolution of the external world as " विषयस्य प्रलयक्रमः "

and then proceeds to do the same in the case of the subjective one as, "ब्रह्मविदां आत्यन्तिको बुद्धिपूर्वकः". This could not have been possible had he not taken the internal as well as external worlds to be relatively real. His words are clear and definite. In spite of all these evidences if the theists were to persist in levelling the charge, it is not the fault of the Advaita as it is not the fault of a post if a blind man gets his head knocked down against it. His systematic and eclectic genius has made him embrace all the lower ideals and aspirations according to necessity and sincerity before realizing the Vedāntic consummation. It is just now shown that "भक्ति" is accepted by him as a step prior to "ज्ञान". He goes a step further and accepts Vedic ritualism as the first step in religious life before one has devotion. It should be observed disinterestedly. He speaks of this thus,

एवं कर्मकाण्डेनास्यैकवाक्यतावगतिः । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 4.4.22.

अग्निहोत्रादीनां च वैदिकानां कर्मणां अर्थवत्वात् । छां. उ. भा. 6.11.3.

Side by side with this he advises moral virtues in *Br. Sūtra* Com., 3. 4. 26-27. He is also aware of the fact that there are many who do not take religion seriously. They are satisfied with give-and-take ethics. They may direct Vedic ritualism to that purpose to fulfil their various worldly expectations. He says,

प्रायेण हि पुरुषाः कामबहुलाः । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 4. 5. 15.

Thus they can be active and obliging members in society. Śankara takes into consideration the diversity of human nature and has meted out religious ideals to that effect. The following quotation makes this point clear:—

तस्मात्पुरुषमतिवैचित्र्यमपेक्ष्य साध्यसाधनसंबंधविशेषाननेकधा उपदिशति (शास्त्रम्) । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 2.1.20.

Even in the case of asceticism or सन्यास his views are worth noting. He leaves to aspirant's sincerity, earnestness and ability to bear the burden of the rigid view. He observes,

तस्मात्पुरुषसामर्थ्यज्ञानवैराग्यकामाद्यपेक्षया व्युत्थानविकल्पक्रमपरिव्राज्यप्रतिपत्तिप्रकारा न विरुध्यन्ते । बृ. आ. उ. भा. 4. 5. 15.

He does not enforce it on all alike. Whenever he attacks the "ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवाद" he means that it cannot be reconciled with the highest mystical experience in Samâdhi. In his *Chhāndogya* Com. (2. 31. 1) he gives the meaning of "नैष्कर्म्य" according to his view and compares it with those of others. The question of quietism or activism is of different values. Activism is alright for socio-political and such other affairs in life. But the highest mystical and metaphysical goal is perfect tranquillity and grand serenity. If we examine all the passages in his Com. on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (2. 10 and 21; 3 Intro.; 3. 20; 4. 15; 4. 18–24; 5. 1 Intro.; and 18. 66) we find that he strongly combats the view that rituals are necessary when one has realized the highest goal. To reach this stage, he says, actions either spiritual such as ritualistic performed disinterestedly or secular such as charitable and social are absolutely necessary. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* Com. (3. 27 and 2. 46) he maintains that,

कर्माणि लौकिकानि शास्त्रीयाणि ; and तस्मात्प्राग्ज्ञाननिष्ठाधिकारप्राप्ते कर्मणि अधिकृतेन कूपतडागादि-अर्थस्थानीयमपि कर्म कर्तव्यम् ।

A liberated soul may work to set an example or for the spiritual good of humanity. But its activity is not "कर्म" in the technical sense; because it has lost all the force of attachment though outwardly to the ignorant it might appear to possess it. In spite of all this it is not bound to undertake any activity; because it is beyond any interdependent obligation, self-aggrandising motives, and idealized human interest. This should not be stamped with the stigma of pious indolence. Śankara has clearly stated this in his *Chhāndogya* Com. (2. 23. 1; 3. 6. 2),

यच्चाग्निरलसतया अकर्तृत्वाभ्युपगमः सोऽप्यसत् कारकबुद्धेः अनिवर्तित्वात्प्रमाणेन । and न ह्यनुत्साहवतां अननुतिष्ठतां अलसानां भोगप्राप्तिः लोके दृष्टा ।

Man can serve humanity not only physically and mentally but spiritually as well. In the third case he transcends both indolence and activity. Milton rightly remarks that, "They also serve who only stand and wait." These are three different

standards of values. Śankara never disturbs them. His comprehensive and all-embracing outlook can be seen when we read his *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (2. 1. 20) and *Bhagavad-Gītā* (13. 2) commentaries. He never asks to unsettle anybody. Let one stand where one desires and deserves. From there let one follow the ideal which suits one. Śankara has given the ladder of religious evolution ascending the steps of which in the proper manner one can reach the highest ideal. He greets all according to their sincerity. He rejects none. He is a practical idealist. He is not prepared to make the highest ideal popular. He is fully aware of the line, "सर्वस्य सर्वं न प्रियं हितं वा". He says that there may be some exceptional people, who can realize the highest ideal without any external help (*Tai. Up.* Com. 1. 11, *Br. Sut.* Com. 3. 4. 38). In the case of the majority, cultural and socio-religious conventions are of great importance. He is, therefore, not merely ascetical and other-worldly. His conception of "धर्म" includes social well-being also. This is in his *Bh.-Gītā* Com. 4. 7 and 4. 1 where he says,

"धर्मस्य हि वर्णाश्रमादि लक्षणस्य प्राणिनामभ्युदयनिश्रेयससाधनस्य।"

"ब्रह्मक्षत्रे परिपालिते जगत्परिपालयितुमलम् ।"

To safeguard the double interest, he believes not only in soul force but in martial force also. We have dealt with this outlook of Vedicism in life and religion while comparing it with that of Buddha. Śankara has faithfully and properly interpreted it without dragging it down to lower and mere utilitarian purposes. In spite of all this if one were to call him a hidden Buddhist it is simply betraying one's prejudice against him. It means that, "Prejudice prevails where judgment is lacking."

III

Since the introduction of modern research and comparative study a new outlook is coming into existence. The methods and arguments of this study are fine and fascinating. It takes into account the historical evolution of religion and philosophy. It lays emphasis on induction and generalization.

It has infused a new spirit into chronology. This new critical method has demolished many a chronological absurdity. Rightly has it shown that by neglecting the question of time and authorship, orthodox scholarship has created a chronological chaos. These things, though culturally unimportant, have some value for the sake of historical accuracy. It has made men think before they accept anything. Blind and superstitious faith is blown away. Thus far we can take it as our guide. But when it goes a step further and tries to enter boldly and presumptuously into regions which are foreign to its activities, it is necessary to be free from its alluring airs and to expose its worthlessness and shortcomings. Its main defect is that, as yet, it is not convinced of the fact that behind the historical vicissitudes, in religion and philosophy, there is the under-current of culture ever present. The personality of modern critics often gives a different colouring to facts. This fact is noted by Oswald Spengler in his *Decline of the West*, where he observes, ". . . . present-day historians . . . . believe themselves to have already grasped History, the happening, the becoming self. This is a prejudice common to all who proceed by reason and cognition as against intuitive perception" (Vol. I, Intro. p. 48). He further observes, "But, even to-day, it is only forms of it that we know and not *the* form of it, which is the mirror image of our own inner life" (*ibid.*, Intro. p. 16). According to the exigency of time different elements in religion may predominate as far as their external or social application is concerned. But the main thought is always there. If this is not borne in mind, mere historical study means nothing more than putting together disconnected pieces. There may be great art but there would be no heart. Mere superficial observation and cataloguing are neither here nor there. Orthodox scholarship treats of being without becoming; while this scholarship speaks of becoming without being. Both are partial and imperfect. Again with the help of its petrified outlook this scholarship dissects different scriptures in the world to pieces and tries to allot different periods for their composition. Thus it tries to trace the

origin, growth and development of a particular religion. What does not stand to its test is declared as an interpolation. We do not absolutely deny the possibility of interpolations. But it makes one suspect the motive and sincerity of this scholarship when they are intentionally invented. With the help of its present attempts if it tries to maintain that religious growth is necessarily chronological we have to assert that it is in the infancy of its activities and achievements. Even in the Vedic period there were men as highly advanced in spirituality as Śankara and Buddha. The question of the first beginning is unknown to Indian culture. It believes that every evolution is followed by involution and *vice versa.* The whole current of religious life may run, at times, smoothly and silently due to its influence and popularity or, at times, with vigorous self-expression and pristine purity due to the opposition from other contending forces or several corroding and disintegrating factors, that are acting against it on account of its being misrepresented in the hands of its later followers, wanting in sincerity and steadfast loyalty to the ideal aimed at. But the dynamic self-expression and reassertion of it in the hands of any illustrious and towering personality is not a sudden appearance without any connecting link or continued historicity. Intuitive experience takes its stand on the Highest Ideal and systematises all the other aspects as the different stages leading to "It". They are true for all times and climes. In the absence of this inner and deeper understanding the so-called historical criticism at the best can be a mere patchwork of meaningless jargon and learned uncertainty. The author of *Vākyapadīya* says the same thing in the following lines:—

हस्तस्पर्शादिबाधेन विषमेऽप्यभिधावता ।
अनुमानप्रधानेन विनिपातो न दुर्लभः ॥ 1.42.

It is true that this scholarship made men think. But it does not seem to hold that in matters that transcend thought mere thinking stops short of its boasted claims. With the help of keen reasoning it has knocked down faith. But it has not substituted in its place anything that can give permanent.

satisfaction, solace, and salvation. In its comparative zeal this scholarship is often satisfied with apparent similarities and external data. As in the West so here in India it understands that different philosophical views are cold logical dogmas shorn off from their spiritual and ethical implications. But the moment they call their interpretations purely logical their spiritual claims are gone, because logic can never lead one to definite results in spirituality as the following line remarks :—तर्के नैवास्ति निश्चयः ।. Its realization gives the greatest reward that surpasses all strength and joy. It means that knowledge is power. Śankara in his commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad* (2. 4) says :—

स्वेनरूपेण लभते सामर्थ्यं, धनसहायमंत्रौषधितपोयोगकृतं वीर्यं मृत्युं न शक्नोत्यभिभवितुं।

On this ideal depend many questions of vital importance. It is the standard of religious values that justifies the relative merits of any philosophical system in India. Logically no system can be perfect or faultless. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya* says to the same effect thus :—

यत्नेनानुमितोऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यै रन्यथैवोपपद्यते ॥ 1. 34.

It is not, therefore, unnatural if the followers of orthodox commentators look upon these modern authorities as utterly hopeless and unreliable guides in their field. Śankara says the same thing thus :—

असंप्रदायवित्सर्वशास्त्रविदपि मूर्खवदेव उपेक्षणीयः । भ. गी. भा. 13. 2.

There is the other line of orthodox commentators who systematise the different stages of spiritual progress and bring out the Highest Ideal more clearly. All the previous stages, they say, are different steps leading to it. They sort the different passages of the *Upaniṣads*, *Brahma Sūtras* and *Bhagavad-Gītā* and interpret them so as to make these stages of realization clear. These stages cannot be called inconsistent or absurd; because experience justifies them. Mystics demonstrate them. These commentators say that consistency is true

as far as thought is concerned and maintain that all the systems of philosophy in India, either Vedic or semi-Vedic, do not take their stand purely on discursive reason. They take the help of logic to make their mystical or metaphysical position intelligible as Śankara observes:—

वेदान्तार्थतत्त्वमेकत्वदर्शनं प्रत्यादरवन्तो मुमुक्षवः स्युरिति किंचिदुच्यतेऽस्माभिः, नतु तार्किकवत्तात्पर्येण । प्र. उ. भा. 6. 3.

He strictly follows this other line of commentators. Modern scholars should better take the orthodox commentators as their guides in cultural questions if they are spiritually serious and not indulging in intellectual pastime. In this connection we quote the words of M. Paul Masson Orsel, an eminent French Orientalist of reputation who read his paper, "What Contemporary Europe can learn from India?", in French at a meeting of the Schopenhaur Society in Germany.

"Again our historical method which Indians learn from us because it tends to reveal to them their own past, also often appears, in many directions, in discord with the principles of India. Sometimes summary and sometimes hypercritical our method often judges the East on the basis of Western standards and estimates the past on the basis of the present. Too often this method slights the historical element in traditions, because it was considered by us as a war engine against tradition. Too often it projects our peculiar obsession and pseudo-scientific postulates into other milieus. Thus, because we are convinced that things are in a state of evolution, we shut our eyes to the relative fixity of Eastern Societies, and we wish that questions of chronology may have as much importance in Asia, as in the last few centuries in the West. Owing to our indifference to religious values, we appraise only the linguistic significance of religious texts, and hence we reach but the letter and not the spirit. India does not excuse for this fault, which is all the more serious in her eyes because we appear to boast of knowing India better than Indians themselves."*

* *Prabuddha-Bhārata*, p. 36, Jan. 1930.

For the purpose of this paper we have relied on Śankara's genuine works, *viz.*, his commentaries on the *Brahma-Sūtras*, *Bhagavad-Gita* and ten principal Upaniṣads and *Upadeśasāhasri*. It is not possible to say anything definitely about the other works included in the Vaṇi Vilas Memorial Edition. As regards his *Vākya*-commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad* we have our serious doubts although Ānandagiri has ascribed it to him. On the passage "उपनिषद्ब्राह्मीं (के. उ. 4. 7)" Śankara in his *Pada-Bhāṣya* says, "ब्राह्मीं ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः इयं तां". This is quite in keeping with the context. But the *Vākya-Bhāṣya* remarks "ब्रह्मणो ब्राह्मणजातेरुपनिषदम्". This interpretation has nothing to do with the context. One of the commentators, who preceded Śankara, while commenting on "अथाऽतो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा" (ब्र. सू. 1. 1. 1.) gave such an interpretation. But Padmapāda in his *Panchapadikā* rejected this as absurd in the following lines:—

तत्र यदन्यैर्वृत्तिकारैः ब्रह्मशब्दस्यार्थान्तरमाशङ्क्य निरस्यते,

न खलु ब्राह्मणजातिरिह गृह्यते प्रत्यक्षसिद्धत्वात् जिज्ञास्यत्वाभावात् । P. 64.

When Padmapâda in the presence of Śankara discarded this interpretation, it is unnatural to expect that Śankara should accept it in the *Vākya-Bhāṣya*. Śankara also rejects this irrelevant explanation thus:—

अत एव न ब्रह्मशब्दस्य जात्याद्यर्थान्तरमाशङ्कितव्यम् । ब्र. सू. भा. 1. 1. 1.

It, therefore, follows that the *Pada-Bhāṣya* is his genuine work and the *Vākya-Bhāṣya* is from the pen of somebody else.

We have exhausted all the available information on this subject, and we hope that critics and scholars will throw fresh light on this subject.

The heading of this article is suggested by five articles, *viz.*, गौडपाद बौद्ध हताके? (गुजराती दिवाळी अंक 1925), The Māyâvâda (*Jn. of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIX, 1929, pp. 76-78, Cal. Uni.), the "Schools of Vedânta" (pp. 30-40, the वसन्त रजत स्मारक अंक), "Vedanta Vindicated", Trichinopoly (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 497). But they have not treated the subject in full details. Hence this attempt to treat this subject systematically and exhaustively.

DATE OF "ISHTASIDDHI"—II

By C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

In the first part of this article I suggested that *Ishtasiddhi* should have been written somewhere about 1050–1100 A.D. The note in which this deduction was first made was drawn up in November 1931, and in publishing it in a recent issue of this *Journal*, I have advisedly not altered its substance. Since then Mr. M. Hiriyanna has published his contribution on this identical subject in a recent issue of the *Madras Journal of Oriental Research* (Vol. IV, October-December 1931, 323–332). He very kindly furnished me with a MS. copy of his contribution in advance and I have had it and a reprint of the published article, also courteously forwarded by him, under study for some time now. In this part of my article on the same topic, I propose to examine at some length Mr. Hiriyanna's conclusion that there is reason to believe that the author of *Ishtasiddhi* should be set down to about 850 A.D. The main grounds on which Mr. Hiriyanna bases his conclusion may briefly be referred to here. He states that Rāmānuja draws his criticism of the Advaita System "solely from" the *Ishtasiddhi* and accordingly should have been fully acquainted with that work. Not only is this inference possible from a study of his *mahā-pūrva-paksha* but also from the very "phrases and turns of expressions which Rāmānuja takes from the *Ishtasiddhi*". "The word *Anubhūti*," he adds, "which he (Rāmānuja) so frequently uses in this connection in the sense of Brahman is taken from it." Mr. Hiriyanna further quotes the authority of Vedānta Dēsika, a commentator on Rāmānuja, who belonged to the fourteenth century A.D., in confirmation of this view. Vedānta Dēsika in his *Tattva-tīka*, an incomplete commentary on Rāmānuja's *Srībhāshya*, cites the first stanza of the *Ishtasiddhi* and remarks that the *mahā-pūrva-paksha* of Rāmānuja is in accordance with the arguments put forth in it. Mr. Hiriyanna also cites other references to *Ishtasiddhi* but none of these except one carry us further back than Rāmānuja. The exception refers to Yāmunāchārya, described as the *paramaguru* of Rāmānuja.

Yāmuna quotes the first verse in *Ishtasiddhi* and attempts to refute the position taken in it. It is this very verse, as stated above, which Rāmānuja also notices in his *Sribhāshya.* This reference helps us, as suggested by Mr. Hiriyanna, to shift the existence of *Ishtasiddhi* as a work of known authority to Yāmuna's time, say 1100 A.D.,[19] Rāmānuja having

[19] Yāmunāchārya is said to have been born in the cyclic year Dhātu, Kaliyuga 4017, at Vīranārāyaṇapura and to have died at Srīrangam. The *Tengalai Guruparamparai* (Edition, 1880) states that he lived for 125 years. The *Prapannāmrita* describes him as the son of Īsvara Bhatta and Ranganāyaki and gives Kaliyuga 3657 as the year of his birth. The difference between these two authorities, as regards the date of Yāmuna's birth, is 360 years. As the beginning of the initial year of the Kaliyuga era has been placed on the 13th February 3102 B.C., the first of the dates mentioned above works out to 915-916 A.D., and if Yāmuna did live 125 years, he would have survived into 1040 A.D. The date given by the *Prapannāmrita* (Kaliyuga 3657) works out to 555-556 A.D., which seems too early for him. As Yāmuna in his *Siddhi Traya* refers to the Chōla king reigning in his time as the all-powerful *Samrāt* (*Yatha Chōla nripaḥ Samrāt'dvitīyō'sti bhutalē*, etc.), it is possible to fix his date, within certain possible limits. It has been suggested that the Chōla king referred to should be identified with Rājarāja the Great, who ruled from about 985 to 1013 A.D. [See T. Rajagopalachar's *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, p. 36; "Yamunāchārya," *Indian Review*, IX (1908), p. 585, *et seq.*] This would separate him from Rāmānuja, his disciple's disciple, by about a century. But as tradition describes Yāmuna as a contemporary of Rāmānuja and makes the latter his successor at Srirangam, this cannot prove acceptable. The Chōla king referred to in the *Siddhi Traya* should, therefore, have been Rājēndra-Chōla I, an equally 'great' Chōla king, who extended the Chōla Empire to Bengal, Central Provinces, Kanauj in the Ganges Valley, Assam, Pegu in Burma, Sumatra and Java and even sent an embassy to China, and was thus really a great *Samrāt*, fulfilling more literally the impressive description of Yāmuna than even his father. Rājēndra-Chōla I ruled from about 1013 to 1045 A.D. (See *Mysore Gazetteer*, New Edition, II. ii.). This would separate him from Rāmānuja by about 59 years (taking that Rāmānuja was already in existence in 1104 A.D., the initial year of the reign of Vishṇu-Vardhana, the Hoysala king). This date would make Yāmuna an elder contemporary of Rāmānuja, as described in the traditional accounts of his life enshrined in the Vaishnavite works above referred to The date to which we should assign Yāmuna would thus be about 1100 A D.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar writes in his *Vaishnavite Reformers of India* (p. 36) as follows:—"The *Siddhi Traya* is quoted frequently by Rāmānuja and no doubt was largely the basis of his able refutations of Sankara's views in the *Sri Bhāshya.*" This does not appear to be strictly correct, for Yāmuna is not mentioned by name by Rāmānuja in his *Srī Bhāshya.* Though this is so, it is clear he was aware of Yāmuna's writings and in his *Srī Bhāshya* uses Yāmuna's arguments to advantage. He adopts his views rather than differ from them. On the other hand, he mentions Yādavaprakāsa by name but dissents from his views,

belonged to the period of the Hoysala king Vishṇu-Vardhana, who ruled from 1104 to 1141 A.D.[20] These citations in Rāmānuja and Yāmuna, adverted to by Mr. Hiriyanna, enable us also to infer that *Ishtasiddhi* was, about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., a recognized text-book on the Advaita doctrine. The fact—mentioned by Mr. Hiriyanna—that Mankhaka notes, in his work *Śrīkantha-Charita*, a contemporary commentary on *Ishtasiddhi*, indicates the wide vogue *Ishta-siddhi* had attained to in Northern India as well about the twelfth century. Such a position could have been achieved by it only after some generations of scholars had studied it and promulgated its teachings in North and South India. It would not be extravagant if one allowed half a century for its attaining this extensive popularity. This would suggest *circa* 1050 A.D. as the latest date for the work.

So far Mr. Hiriyanna is, I think, on firm ground. But when he proceeds to assign on certain other grounds, presently to be examined, the work to about 850 A.D., it has to be remarked that that is an impossible date for it. This sug-gestion is based on four independent data. The first of these is that as the author of *Ishtasiddhi* quotes twice from Surēśvara's works, one of the quotations being from the latter's *Naish-Karma Siddhi* (IV-53), he "cannot be earlier than 850 A.D.", Surēśvara being reputedly a pupil of Śankara. He cannot certainly be "earlier" than 850 A.D., but the practical question is how much later than Surēśvara was the author of *Ishtasiddhi*. Obviously an author who quotes another may have come *long after* him or *immediately after* him. To state that his date is between 850 A.D. and 1150 A.D. is no doubt unobjectionable but it does not help us to any extent to settle the point whether he was nearer the latter or the former date.

The second of the data adduced by Mr. Hiriyanna is that as Sarvajñātman, a disciple of Surēśvara, refers, according to

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[20] According to tradition Rāmānuja was born in Śaka 939, which corresponds to 1017–1018 A.D., *i.e.*, 87 years *before* the initial year of Vishṇu-Vardhana's reign.

certain commentators on his *Sankshēpa-Śārīraka*, to the *Ishtasiddhi*, and as the author of the *Ishtasiddhi* quotes Surēśvara, as stated above, then it is inferable that all these three authors—Surēśvara, Vimuktātman and Sarvajñātman—"should have been contemporaries". Mr. Hiriyanna suggests that "probably they were" contemporaries but as he concedes "that it seems somewhat risky to draw such a conclusion on the basis of what is stated by commentators who wrote several centuries later", there is, perhaps, no need to pursue this point further. As a matter of fact, however, the original contains—as pointed out by Mr. Hiriyanna himself—"only the general expression *mukti-kōvidāh*, 'those who are well versed in the knowledge leading to release'." The commentators of Sarvajnātman, including Madhusūdana Sarasvathi, who belonged to the seventeenth century, have interpreted the word as a reference to the *Ishtasiddhi*. This is very much like the interpretation by Appaya Dikshita of the expression *pūrvāchārya kalushitām* appearing in an introductory verse of Srīkantha's *Bhāshya* on the *Brahma Sūtra* that it is a reference to Rāmānuja's predecessors in philosophic tradition!

The third of the data furnished by Mr. Hiriyanna is that as Ānandabōdha, author of *Nyāya-Makaranda*, quotes half a sloka which is to be found in the *Ishtasiddhi* and as he prefaces the quotation with the words *etadevoktam gurubhiḥ*, "we may conclude from this," adds Mr. Hiriyanna, "though we cannot be quite sure about it, that Ānandabōdha was a disciple of Vimuktātman." He also remarks: "There is nothing improbable in this, for Ānandabōdha was an early writer on the Advaita as shown, for example, by the fact that his *Nyāya-Makaranda* has been commented upon by Chitsuka (1300 A.D.). Further, Ānandabōdha quotes more than once from the *Ishtasiddhi* and his view in regard to more than one detail of Advaitic doctrine is identical with that maintained in the latter." By this reasoning Mr. Hiriyanna suggests, though he does not put it forth definitely as a proposition, that though his date is not known, as Ānandabōdha frequently refers to Vāchaspati, whom he

assigns—agreeing with Dr. Keith[21]—to the first half of the ninth century A.D., he should have lived about that time (841 A.D.).

Mr. Hiriyanna then concludes with this final statement: "If the author of the *Ishtasiddhi* be the *guru* of Ānandabōdha, he cannot be earlier than 850 A.D., a result at which we have already arrived." Even this negative result, which does not lead us to anything like a satisfactory solution, appears to be based on rather insecure foundations. It might be suggested that Ānandabōdha's quotations from Vimuktātman are quite compatible with his being neither Vimuktātman's disciple nor a person coming shortly after him. As to the words *etadevoktam gurubhiḥ*, I would suggest that the word "*guru*" in this quotation has to be interpreted otherwise than as "a religious teacher" or "a spiritual teacher" in the sense that

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[21] Professor A. A. Macdonell assigns Vāchaspati to a date "soon after 1100 A.D." (*Vide* his *Sanskrit Literature*, 393). Dāsgupta, however, fixes the date 898 Vikrama era, corresponding to about 841-842 A D. (See *loc. cit.*, II. 107.) This is based on a reference in the *Nyāyasūchinibandha*, a work of Vāchaspati. Since Udayana, who lived about 984 A.D., wrote a commentary called *Nyāyavārtika tātparyatīkā parisuddhi* on Vāchaspati's *Nyāyavārtika tātparyatīkā*, which was itself a commentary on Udyōtakara's *Nyāyavārtika*, Vāchaspati must have lived anterior to 984 A.D. The *Bhāmati* mentions a king called Nriga (*Srīmannrga*), who has not yet been identified, though Dr. Ganganath Jha suggests he was a King of Mithila, a predecessor of Nānyadēva, who ruled about 1019 Vikrama era, corresponding to 962 A.D. (See Introd. to *Sānkhyatattva Kaumudī*, a commentary by Vāchaspati on Īsvara Krishna's *Sānkhyakārikā*.) Messrs. Suryanarayana Sastri and Kunhan Raja in their *Bhāmati Chatussūtri* succinctly summarize the known facts as to the date of Vāchaspati Misra. (See Introd. ix-x.) The first of the dates suggested, *viz.*, 841—842 A.D., seems too early as it is too near 825 A.D., the date of Śankara's death. A work like the *Bhāmati* cannot have been written within 15 years of Śankara's death, some short time at least being required for the propagation of Śankara's doctrine. Udayana's date (984 A.D.) would seem to help us to a more satisfactory position. Even allowing a hundred years for the popularization of Vāchaspati's works, Vāchaspati would have to be assigned to 884, which would separate him from Śankara by about sixty years. The possibility of this date—or one near to it, say somewhere about 900 A.D.—is strengthened by the fact Nānyadēva, the alleged successor of King Nriga of Mithila, is known to have lived about 962 A.D. Remembering the fact that Vāchaspati wrote quite a large number of works, practically all of which have come down to us, and they deal with different aspects of Śankara's Advaita (as propounded by Mandana Misra), it is not impossible he lived to a fairly advanced age. *Circa* 900 A.D. seems, therefore, not altogether too fanciful a date for him.

Vimuktātman was the *guru* (*i.e.*, he who performed the purification ceremonies over him and instructed him in the Vedas, etc.) of Ānandabōdha. It is possible here that the word "*guru*" is used in the sense of "any venerable or respectable person", or simply in the sense of "venerable", "respectable", etc., as applied to a high authority on the Advaita, which would be just the sense in which the author of the *Ishtasiddhi* would be referred to by one like Ānandabōdha when quoting Vimuktātman in his own support. The words *etadevoktam gurubhiḥ* would thus mean no more than "it is thus said by the venerable authority" Vimuktātman. That the word "*guru*" is thus used commonly in the sense of "venerable" or "respectable person" will be clear from the following authorities:—Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, 4, 17; *Bhāminīvilāsa*, 2, 7, 18, 19, 49; *Bhagavadgīta* 2, 5; and *Raghuvamśa*, 14, 46. It is unnecessary to refer to the fact that the word "*guru*" is used sometimes in a very much wider sense even, it being used to indicate "father" (*Uttararāmacharita*, 5, 28). It is just possible, Ānandabōdha means by the expression quoted no more than that the authority of Vimuktātman was, in his opinion, "irresistible" or "unassailable", the word "*guru*" in such a context meaning no more than that. If Vimuktātman had really been the *guru* (*i.e.*, the actual religious preceptor) of Ānandabōdha, the fact would have been mentioned in the colophons appearing in his different works. The admitted fact that he has not done so—remembering as one should that he quotes him in the manner he does—shows that the word "*guru*" is used in the particular context referred to above in the ordinary sense of a "great" or "venerable" or "irresistible" authority and no more.

The fact that Chitsuka has commented on Ānandabōdha's *Nyāya-Makaranda* does not and cannot prove that Ānandabōdha was so early a writer as to belong to the middle of the ninth century A.D. Chitsuka, we know, is mentioned in two inscriptions dated in 1220 and 1284 A.D. and his commentary on one of Ānandabōdha's works can only be held to prove that he came after him, though how long after he

actually came, it is difficult to state in the absence of definite evidence. The further suggestion that Ānandabōdha agrees in doctrinal matters with Vimuktātman does not and cannot establish anything more than his intellectual indebtedness to Vimuktātman—it cannot prove either his discipleship or his nearness in date to Vimuktātman. As to the date of Ānandabōdha, it is no doubt still uncertain, but as suggested in the first part of this article, he must be set down to be a successor of Prakāśātman, on one of whose (Prakāśātman's) works he has commented, which shows that he should be taken to have come after Prakāśātman. If Prakāśātman lived about 1200 (*vide* Dāsgupta, *loc. cit.*, 419), then Ānandabōdha should have lived about, say, 1250 A.D. This would make him—as already stated—an elder contemporary of Chitsuka, who in his turn commented on one of his—Ānandabōdha's—works. It would thus seem to follow that Ānandabōdha could not have lived so early as 841 A.D. and that his citation of the *Ishtasiddhi* or adoption of its views on certain doctrinal points cannot enable us to put back its date to anywhere about 850 A.D. One other point may be mentioned. Mr. Hiriyanna has assigned Prakāśātman to 1000 A.D. (see his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 340). If this be so, then his commentator Ānandabōdha should, as coming after him, be set down to a later date—say 1050 A.D. If this be so, then there is, as remarked already, nothing strange in Chitsuka becoming the commentator of Ānandabōdha, somewhere about the years 1220-1284 A.D., which inscriptional records yield for him. The greatest—in fact the most insuperable—objection to Vimuktātman being assigned to about 850 A.D., or any other early date near to 850 A.D., is that it would not allow sufficient time for the development of doctrine—from the time of Śankara, whom we have to set down to about 825 A.D.—which his work enshrines. On the other hand, all that we know about it, and the other difficulties inseparable from the suggestion of so early a date as 850 A.D. to the *Ishtasiddhi*, seems to point to a much later date for it. To merely suggest that the work should have been written somewhere between 850 A.D. and 1050 A.D.—the upper

and lower limits available for it—is not to say much. The real question of interest is this: Was it written nearer to 850 A.D. or nearer to 1050 A.D.? To this question, there can be only one answer in the light of the evidence available at present and that is that it should have been written nearer to 1050 A.D. rather than to 850 A.D. To say that it belongs to *circa* 1050 A.D. is to give it as near a date as is at all possible with all the evidence before us to-day.

STUDIES IN THE INDUS SCRIPTS

By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 230)

II

The Vikramakhol Inscription and the Glozel Forgeries

The Vikramakhōl inscription found in the Sambhalpur district, according to Mr. Jayaswal, gives a script that is a development of the Indus script and forms a middle stage in the development of Brāhmī. Several resemblances to the script of the seals can be pointed out, but it is remarkable that almost all the characters in the Vikramakhōl inscription have a remarkable likeness to the Glozel alphabet and are nearer to Kharōshṭī than to Brāhmī. The discoveries at Glozel near Vichy in France in 1924 gave occasion to a furious controversy as to the genuineness of the finds. Drs. Elliot Smith and Reinach believed that the Glozel alphabet belonged to the neolithic epoch in Europe in about 2000 B.C. Mr. Jayaswal similarly dated the Vikramakhōl inscription as roughly of about 1500 B.C. But M. Jullian considered that there was nothing neolithic in the Glozel script and that it was merely "cursive Latin of the time of the Empire"; and it seems to be now generally accepted that the tablets are forgeries. But the remarkable resemblances between the Glozel and the Vikramakhōl scripts still remain unaccounted for, unless we consider the latter too a forgery or detect a mere accidental coincidence. But the similarities appear to me so pronounced that we have to look to some other explanation.

It is now a generally accepted fact among scholars that in the first two millenniums B.C. there was a series of linear scripts—one linear Semitic script near Sinai and another in Minoan II probably introduced by the Phœnicians. According to Reinach, the Cretan resemblances in the Glozel alphabet are beyond dispute, and probably the alphabet and pottery of Western Europe were modelled upon the linear scripts of the Mediterranean.

But the question assumes wider dimensions if the resemblances between the Glozel and Vikramakhōl inscriptions are granted. Dr. Morlet noted the almost absolute identity of the Glozel and the Phœnician archaic signs. If the affinities between the Phœnician-Glozel and Vikramakhōl scripts are proved, and if the Indus script is the progenitor of the Vikramakhōl script, it might be granted that the origin of the Cretan-Phœnician, the linear Semitic, Aramaic-Kharōshṭi scripts can be traced to the Indus pictographs. But according to Gadd, there are few resemblances between the Indus and Sumerian seals and the analogy with the Minoan is far-fetched. The seals probably contain personal names and the names are Indo-Āryan, and admittedly earlier than Sumerian.

It was suggested as long back as 1906, by Dr. Shāma Śāstri (*I.A.*, 1916) that the Brāhmī alphabet is derived from Tāntrik hieroglyphics. Several scholars more recently have urged that the Indus seals are Tāntrik amulets, and the names are those of deities like Śiva, Īśvara, Śin, etc. (*I. H. Q.*, 1932). But the original Tāntrik hieroglyphics as restored by Dr. Shāma Śāstri possess little resemblance to the characters as depicted on the seals. It is more probable that the Indus seals as well as the Vikramakhōl inscription record the celebration of animal sacrifices judging from the animals on the seals and in the inscription.

III

Vedic Evidence

In support of my contention that the Indus civilization is partly, if not predominantly, Āryan, it is already shown how the Aśvattha, etc., figure in Vedic ritual. The animal figures found on the seals as well as on the copper tablets are the so-called unicorn with the distinguishing characteristic of horns bent forward, the Brāhmaṇi bull, the rhinoceros, elephant, buffalo, tiger, crocodile, deer, goats, Gayal, composite animals, etc. In the *Taittirīya Samhita*, there are lists of animals which exactly correspond to these. To Indra, a beast with horns bent forward (prāsṛṃga), with a spot on the forehead should be sacrificed to achieve victory in war.

इन्द्राय वज्रिणे ललामं प्राश्रृंगमालभेत । यमलं राज्यायसंतं राज्यं न उपनमेत् । इन्द्रमेव वज्रिणं स्वेन भागधेयेन उपधावति । स एवास्मैं वज्रं प्रयच्छति । स एवं वज्रः भूत्यै इंधे उपैनं राज्यं नमति ललाम, प्राश्रृंगो भवति । एतद्वै वज्रस्य रूपं समृद्ध्यै ॥

(*Tai. Sam.*, II. 1. 3. 4.)

A dappled animal to Maruts, a spotted one to Savitṛ, a composite animal of all forms (बहुरूप) to Viśvēdēvāḥ, a Gayal to Vāyu (वायव्यम् गोमृगमालभेत), a goat to Agni, a boar to Indra, to Yama a deer, to Varuṇa a black deer, to the Sindhu a Śimśumāra (crocodile), a purusha-mṛga to the Moon, a lion, *nakula* and tiger to Indra, a rhino to Kāma, a dove to Samvatsara, etc., etc. (*Tai. Sam.*, V. 5. 7. 11; V. 6. 11 etc.).

वैश्वदेवीं बहुरूपामालभेत अन्नकामः । बार्हस्पत्यम् उक्षवशमालभेत ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । रौद्रीं रोहिणीमालभेत । त्वाष्ट्रं वडबमालभेत पशुकामः । मैत्रं श्वेतमालभेत संग्रामे संयते समयकामः । आश्विनं धूम्रललाममालभेत । वायव्यं गोमृगमालभेत । etc.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the animals on the seals are representations of various sacrifices and the legends probably refer to deities or sacrificers.

IV

Tribes of the Indus Valley

It has been pointed by a scholar that the modern Harappa is probably the ancient Hariyūpīya mentioned in the *Ṛg-Vēda*. Hariyūpīya once identified with the Zhob in Mesopotamia by Hillebrandt, is more probably the Iṛāvāti itself and the town also must have taken its name from the river. It is also called Yavyāvati. It seems to have been the capital of the Vāraśikhas before Vṛchīvant Daivavāta and Abhyāvartin Chāyamāna destroyed the last members of the dynasty.

एतत्यत्ता इन्द्रियम चेति
येनावधीर्वारशिखस्य शेषः ।
वज्रस्य यत्ते निहतस्य शुष्मात्
स्वनच्छिदिंद्र परमो ददार ॥

वधीदिंद्रो वरशिखस्य शेषो-
ऽभ्यावर्तिने चायमानाय शिष्यन् ।
वृचीवतो यद्धरियूपीयायाम् हन्
पूर्वे अर्धे भियसा'परोदर्त् ॥
त्रिंशच्छतं वर्मिण इंद्रसाकं यव्यावत्यां पुरुहूत श्रवस्य ।
वृचीवंतः शरवे पत्यमानाः पात्राभिदाना न्यर्थान्यायन् ॥
यस्य गावावरुषा सूयवस्यू
अंतरूषु चरतो रेरिहाणाः ।
स सृंजयाय तुर्वसम् परादाद्
वृचीवतो दैयवाताय शिक्षन् ॥
द्वयामग्ने रथिनो विंशतिं गा
वधूमतो मघवा मह्यम् सम्राट् ।
अभ्यावर्ती चायमानो ददाति
दूणासेयं दक्षिणा पार्थवानाम् ॥

(*Ṛg Vēda*, VI. 3. 4. 8.)

In the *Bṛhad-dēvatā* (VI. 75 ff.) we are told that Abhyāvartin Chāyamāna and Prastōka, son of Sṛnjaya, being defeated by the Vāraśikhas, came to Bharadvāja and solicited his help to recover their kingdom. Bharadvāja sent his son Pāyu, who invoked Indra and Indra slew the Vāraśikhas on the banks of the Hariyūpīya. Abhyāvartin rewarded Bharadvāja whose another son Garga also praised the liberality of Prastōka (*Ṛg.*, VI. 47. 22). "Abhyāvartin Chāyamāna (son or descendant of Chāyamāna) grants to me, Oh Agni!, two damsels in chariots and twenty cattle. This donation of a Pārthava cannot be destroyed."

We learn from the *Pancha-vimśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXI. 12. 2) that Vṛchivant not only opposed Vāraśikhas but also disputed with the Jahnus led by Viśvāmitra. In the famous Dāśarājña battle, which was fought on the banks of the Parushṇī, and which probably destroyed the city of Harappa and the power of the Vāraśikhas, that Kavi the son of Chāyamāna (who had probably inherited the kingdom which Abhyāvartin had conquered from the Vāraśikhas) cut off the banks of the Parushṇī to flood the country and he was killed by

Sudāsa. The long description of the battle of the ten kings in the VII Maṇḍala of the *Ṛg-Vēda* is of very great importance.

अर्णांसिचित्पप्रथाना सुदास
इन्द्रो गा धान्यकृणोत्सुपारा ।
शर्धंतं शिम्युमुचथस्य नव्यः
शापं सिंधूनाम कृणोदशस्तीः ॥

पुरोळा इत्तार्वशो यक्षुरासीत्
राये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव ।
श्रुष्टिं शक्रुर्भृगवो द्रुह्यवश्च
सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचीः ॥

आपळयासो भलानसो भनंता-
ऽलिनासो विषाणिनः शिवासः ।
आयो नयतसधमा आर्यस्य गव्या
तृत्सुभ्यो अजगन्यथा नून् ॥

दुराध्यो अदितिं स्रेवयंतो-
ऽचेतसो विजगृभ्रे परुष्णीः ।
मह्ना विव्यक्पृथिवीं पत्यमानः
पशुष्कवि राशयच्चायमानः ॥

ईयुरर्थं नन्यर्थं परुष्णीम्-
आशुश्चनेदभिपित्वं जगाम ।
सुदास इंद्रः सुतुकाँ अमित्रान्-
अरंधयन् मानुषे वध्रिवाचः ॥

ईयुर्गावो नयवसादगोपा
यथाकृतमभिमित्रंचितासः ।
पृश्निगावः पृश्नि निप्रेषितासः
श्रुष्टिं चक्रुनियतो रंतयश्च ॥

एकंचयो विंशतिं च श्रवस्या
वैकर्णयो जनान् राजान्यस्तः ।
दस्मो न सद्मन् निशिराति बर्हिः
शूरः सर्गमकृणोदिंद्र एषाम् ॥

अथः श्रुतं कवषं वृद्धमप्सु-
अनुद्रुह्युं निवृणग्वज्रबाहुः ।
वृणाना अत्र सखाय सख्यम्
त्वायंतो ये अमदन्ननुत्वा ॥
विसद्यो विश्वादृंहिता न्येषाम्
इन्द्रः पुरस्सहसा नप्रदर्दः ।
व्यानवस्य तृत्सवे गयं भाग्
जेष्म पूरुं विदथे मृध्रवाचम् ॥
निगव्यवोऽनवो द्रुह्यवश्च
षष्टिश्शता सुषुवुः षट्सहस्रा ।
षष्टिर्वीरासो अधिषड् दुवो-
य विश्वेदिंद्रस्य वीर्या कृतानि ॥
इंद्रेणैते तृत्सवो वे विषाणा
आपो न सृष्टा अधवंत नीचीः ।
दुर्मित्रासः प्रकलं विन्मिमाना
जहुर्विश्वानि भोजना सुदासे ॥
अर्धं वीरस्य श्रुतयामनिंद्रं पराशर्धंतं नुनुदे अभिक्षाम् ।
इंद्रो मन्युं मन्युस्यो मिमाय भेजे पथो वर्तनिं पत्यमानः
अध्रेण चित्तद्वेकं चकार सिंह्यं चिव्येत्वेना जघान ।
अवस्रक्तीर्वेद्यावृश्चदिंद्रः प्रायच्छद्विश्वा भोजना सुदासे ॥
शश्वंतो हि शत्रवो रारधुष्टे
भेदस्य चिच्छर्धतो विदंरंधिम् ।
मर्ता एनः स्तुवतो यः कृणोति
तिग्मं तस्मिन्निजहि वज्रमिंद्र ॥
आवदिंद्रं यमुना तृत्सवश्च
पात्रभेदं सर्वता तामुषायत् ।
अजासश्च शिग्रवो यक्षवश्च
वक्तिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्वयानि ॥
नत इंद्र समतयो नरायः
संचक्षे पूर्वा उषसो ननूत्नाः ।
देवकं चिन्मान्यमानं
जघंधावत्मनाबृहतः शंबरं भेत् ॥

प्रयेगृहादमम दुःस्त्वा या
पराशरः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः ।
न ते भोजस्य सख्यं मृषंताधा
सूरिभ्यः सुदिना व्युच्छान् ॥
द्वेनप्तुर्देववतः शतेगो-
र्द्वा रथा व ध्रुमंता सुदासः ।
अहन्नग्ने पैजवनस्य दानं
होतेव सद्म पर्येमि रेभन् ॥

(*Ṛg.*, VII. 2. 18. 5 to 22.)

It should not be assumed that all the enemies who are called "*anindra*" were racially different from the Āryans (though some undoubtedly were), for in a verse Indra's help is invoked both against Āryan and non-Āryan enemies.

त्वं ताँन्निंद्र उभयानमित्रान् दासा वृत्राणि आर्या च
शूरः वर्धाः वना इव सुधितेभिरत्कैः ॥ (*Ṛg.*, VI. 33. 3.)

The tribes that participated in the Dāśa-rājña battle are the Śimyu, Yakshu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, Pūru, Matsa, Bhṛgu, Paktha, Bhalāna, Alina, Śiva, the twenty-one clans of the Vaikarṇas and the Ajas and Śigrus who dwelt on the banks of the Yamunā and were worshippers of Indra. Some of these tribes were probably totemistic and the Indra-cult is already found in the Gangā-Yamunā region, which probably was the original Āryan home before the tribes moved westwards, as indicated in the well-known *nādi-stuti*—

इमं मे गंगे यमुने शुतुद्रुस्तोमं सचता परुष्णिया ।
असिक्निया मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये श्रणुह्या सुषोमाया ॥

Prof. Langdon wrote, "In any way we may look at the problem, the Āryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the Hittite capital as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus valley. Far more likely is it that the Āryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race." It is not unreasonable to assume that the Āryans starting from the

sacred Yamunâ-Gangetic plain (still revered as the sacred Brahmarshi-dēśa by Hindus), fought a number of battles with the enemies on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, and passed on to Sumēr. Besides the Indian seals found at Ur, Sūsa, Telloh, Kish Ummah, the positive evidence of the ruins at Tell Asmar shows clearly that by *c.* 2600 B.C. the art of India was very feebly imitated in Mesopotamia. The crude imitations of the seals bearing the figures of the elephant and the rhinoceros, etched carnelian beads, potsherds with barbotine ornamentations—all show how by the middle of the third millennium B.C. in the reign of Gimilsin of Ur, the artists of Eshnunna were no longer under the direct influence of India. (*Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1, 1932). And finally the Amarna letters and Boghaz-Kâyâ inscriptions of about 1500 B.C. give the latest unmistakable evidence of Āryan domination of Anatolia and the Hittite culture. The script too must have been taken by the Āryan invaders westwards (whether it was Tāntric in origin or not) as pointed out by Dr. R. Shâma Sâstri, who quotes from the *Akshamālōpanishad* (*I. A.*, 1906, p. 318).

मंत्रमातृके अक्षमाले नद्यंतरं यासि । देशान्तरं यासि । द्वीपान्तरं यासि । लोकान्तरं यासि । सर्वदा स्फुरसि । सर्वहृदि वासयसि, नमस्ते ॥

We shall revert to this question subsequently.

A NEW HYMN OF JNANA-SAMBANDHA

By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 275)

II

Let us start at a point in the record where we may obtain a chance of restoring the damaged portions of the text. We have already noticed that in this hymn every one of the other stanzas splits into two halves with the end of the second verse; we may therefore presume that this stanza too divides into two halves,—the first and second verses going into the former half and the third and fourth verses falling into the latter. This assumption would enable us to look for clues helping to make the structure of this stanza conform to the pattern of the rest of the hymn.

Fortunately, it is almost in the vicinity of this point that we get our best clue. In line 15, after the word கொண்டவர் we have three characters[1] which are plainly சார; they are quite clear on the stone, even though the stone has peeled off a bit. These characters, it will be remembered, occur just at the spot where, if we are to judge by the type furnished by the other stanzas, we expect words similar to இடமென்பர் or பற்றும். We may, therefore, assume that the letters சார stand at the beginning of a word which may be an equivalent to இடமென்பர் or to பற்றும். Immediately after these characters appears a letter,[2] the looped hook of which at the beginning betrays it to be either a வ or an உ. It is most unlikely that in Tamil an உ follows immediately upon சார; we may, therefore, take the letter to be a வ, and find confirmation in some indistinct continuation which would seem to embody its full and proper shape. A little to the right of this letter is seen very dimly the ghost of another letter[3] which, on a close scrutiny, we may take to be the letter ம. The letters read thus far

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[1] Characters 9, 10 and 11.

[2] Character 12.

[3] Character 14.

stand thus: சாரவ-ம. Here we have the possibility of a full-fledged word. Looking in between வ and ம, and straining our eyes we see a very faint stroke,[1]—so faint indeed that its existence is almost problematical: this stroke is the sign used for lengthening the *a* inherent in certain Tamil characters. Now, taking all the characters together, we get சாரவாம (சார்வாம்), which is not merely a full word but is also a synonym of பற்றும்,—a word which does at this point supply a deficiency which we have been feeling. Being synonymous with பற்றும், this word சார்வாம் rounds off the first half of the stanza and not only establishes that this stanza is similar in construction to the other stanzas but also marks the close of the first two verses of this stanza. Among the accepted hymns of Jñāna-Sambandha is found one in which this word சார்வாம் performs a similar function.[2]

We may now turn to the beginning of the third verse. Each verse of a stanza rhymes at the beginning with the other verses; so, it should be no surprise if the third verse of this stanza as well begins with a word rhyming with கின்னை the first word of the first verse, and with வென்னை the first word of the fourth verse. Hence it is that the previous editors of this inscription have read the succeeding words as மன்னல். But this word has been already shown to be inappropriate to the sense, and, palæographically, it can have no place here, as will be shown presently. A little farther on, we have characters[3] which are unmistakably நெருஙகு; this reading would be plain even at the outset were it not that the stone has peeled off here, obscuring the ரு and the ங slightly. On this reading there being complete agreement between myself and the two scholars, we

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[1] Character 13.

[2] விளையாததொர் பரிசில்வரு பசுபாசவே தனையொண்
தளையாயின தவிரவ்வருள் தலைவன்னது சார்பாம்
களையார்தரு கதிராயிர முடையவ்வவ றேடு
முளைமாமதி தவழும் உயர் முதுகுன்றடை வோமே
Hymn மத்தாவரை, Tiru-Mudu-Kunram.

[3] Characters 23 to 27.

have only to find out what letters might lie between சார்வாம் and நெருங்கு.

The letter[1] immediately preceding நெ of the word நெருங்கு is clearly ல, and on this too we both agree. The letter previous to that is certainly not ல; its trunk is not quite clear, but it bears by no means a similarity to ல; from the trunk springs off an addendum in the shape of a curve which betrays it to be quite another character. There is no chance, therefore, for the reading மள்ளல். Let us now compare this character with the one[2] which comes at the close of நெருங்கு. Obviously, the two are identical: this letter, then, is also a கு. If now we take the correct reading here to be குல், we must admit that it does not rhyme with கிள்ளை or வெள்ளை and cannot form part of the rhyme-word at the beginning of the third verse. The rhyme-word must, therefore, be found before some other word which may have குல் incorporated in it. In the result, we have to find in the gap[3] between சார்வாம் and குல் a word rhyming with கிள்ளை and வெள்ளை and also a word incorporating குல்.

We shall now start from குல் and work to the left. A trace of a stroke[4] is found before கு, and it may be part of a ல or a ங; whichsoever the letter might be, it should be an integral portion of a word ending in குல், for குல் by itself has no significance. But we have very few words in Tamil which end in லகுல் or in ஙகுல். Moving our eyes to the left again, we find traces of chisel-marks in a space in which two letters could easily go, but we cannot decide what the letters are that were incised at this spot; the traces that we have are quite confusing. In the first half of this space we find a short straight stroke, but its continuation is now a blotch because of the peeling off of the stone. An initial stroke of this kind being a feature of the letters ட, டு, ம, ய and ழ, we shall have to find a word which will take one of them. The letter that must have stood in the second half

1 Character 22.

2 Character 27.

3 From character 15 to character 20.

4 Character 20.

of the space has left no trace whatever. Considering then, all the facts, before us, and also the possibilities in Tamil, we cannot but fill in the gap with the letters ம and ரு. They fit in admirably. The word மருங்குல்[1] is very often met with in poetry,—especially when the context relates to women.

We are thus left to decipher only a few letters at the beginning of the third verse[2] to arrive at the rhyme-word. Just before the join of the stones, we find traces of a ள[3] which would have been much clearer but for the stone having worn away round it. Above this character, we see vestiges of a curve which converts this ள into a ளி. This letter must be preceded by a ள், for it is only then that we would have a word to rhyme with கிள்ளி and வெள்ளி ;—this anticipation is found to be correct when we look at the stone, for, we are able to trace, though only with effort, hazy remnants of that letter.[4] The letter[5] to the left of this ள் seems to begin with a loop characteristic of உ and வ ; while உ will not do, as it yields no sense compatible with the context, வ is appropriate inasmuch as it helps to form a word வள்ளி that supplies a very apt epithet to go with மருங்குல். Not only have we early instances of this word to mean a creeper or tendril,[6] but we find it also used to describe the slenderness of ladies' waists, in

[1] Characters 18 to 22.

[2] Characters 15 to 17.

[3] Character 17.

[4] Character 16.

[5] Character 15.

[6] ஆம்பல் வள்ளித் தொடிக்கை மகளிர்

Paranar *Pura-Nāṉūṟu*, 63 (12).

முதிர்காய் வள்ளியங் காடுபிறக் கொழிய

K. P. Nap-Pūdaṉār, in *Pattup-Pāṭṭu*, v. (*Mullaip-*), 101.

பிந்தவர்மேனிபோற் புல்லென்ற வள்ளி

Māṟaṉ-Poṟaiyaṉār, in *Aiṉ-Tiṇai-Aimbadu*, 811.

முரிந்த சிலம்பி னெரிந்த வள்ளியின்

Auvaiyār, in *Naṟ-Tiṇai*, 295 (1).

குரங்கூசல்

வள்ளியினூடுமலைநாட

Muṉṟuṟai-Aṟaiyar, in *Paḻa-Moḻi-Nāṉūṟu*, 140 (2,3).

earlier[1] as well as later[2] literature. More than this, we have the very phrase வள்ளி மருங்குல் used in earlier[3] and later[4] works.

We have now two phrases வள்ளி மருங்குல் ('tendril-waisted') and செவ் வாய் ('red-lipped') which obviously refer to those who are called வெள்ளை நகையார் ('damsels of pearly smile'). Between these two phrases, however, lie words which the two scholars have read as நெருங்க மழலை. It is by no means easy to relate them, even distantly, to வாய். The other phrases in the neighbourhood are made up of a noun and a word qualifying it; வள்ளி qualifies மருங்குல், செம்மை qualifies வாய் and வெள்ளை qualifies நகையார். This is a circumstance which is really suggestive; நெருங்க is a word which must attach itself to a noun,—especially because it is preceded and followed by phrases so compounded. The word which it must qualify cannot be மழலை, unless we can conceive of 'babbling' being 'close-set'. The reading நெருங்க மழலை has therefore to be abandoned. How then are we to read the characters here?

There being no doubt about நெருங்க, we have to inquire if மழலை is the proper reading.[5] There can be possibly no doubt about the letters ம[6] and லை[7], and there is, certainly, no difference between us about the readings of these letters. What,

[1] வள்ளி நுண்ணிடை வயின்வயி னுடங்க
Ōrambōhiyār, in *Aha-Nāṇūṛu*, 286 (2).
வள்ளிநுடங்கிடைமாதர்வந்தலர்தூற்றிட
Periya-Aḻvār, *Tiru-Moḻi*, III. ii. 7 (1).

[2] வள்ளிவென்ற நுண்ணிடை மழைமலர்த்தடங்கணார்
Śivaha-Sindāmaṇi, ix. 2039.

[3] வள்ளி மருங்குல் வயங்கிழை யணிய
M. K. Veṇ-Nāhaṇār, in *Pura-Nāṇūṛu*, 316 (9).

[4] வள்ளிமருங்குலென் தன்மடமானினைப்போதவென்று
Tiru-Maṅgai-Āḻvār, *Periya-Tiru-Moḻi*, III. vii. 1 (2).
தெள்ளியள் வள்ளிநுண்மருங்குல்
Ibid., II. vii. 5 (6).
வள்ளிமருங்குல் வருத்துவபோன்ற வனமுலையே
Māṇikka-Vāśahar, *Tiruk Kōvai*, 128.

[5] Characters 28 to 30.

[6] Character 28.

[7] Character 30.

however, is the intermediate letter?[1] The two scholars have read it as ழ, but we have no instance anywhere of a letter of this shape standing for that sound.

Palæographical considerations enable us to decide the question. The letter we are now considering cannot be a ழ but may be a மு or a ழு. When taken with the characters before and after, we get மமுலை and மழுலை, neither of which is a Tamil word. We are, therefore, driven to explore other possibilities. The letter which we have taken to be ம may with equal possibility be a mere ம். If it is only an ம், we get ம்முலை or even ம்ழுலை,—but they are words absolutely unknown to Tamil. If, however, we transfer the ம் to the previous word,—a transfer which is certainly easy because of space-quads not having been used to mark off words,—we get நெருங்குதம், which is quite as good as நெருங்கு. We have, then, to choose between ழுலை and முலை,—but there cannot be the least hesitation in the choice, ழுலை being no Tamil word; the alternative word, முலை, is the only possible word with which to fill in the gap.

The reading here would then be நெருங்குதம் முலை ('with breasts that press against each other'). This reading is eminently satisfactory, not merely because it conforms to the type of phrases in its vicinity, but also because it suits the context admirably. What is more natural or poetical than to endow 'damsels' of 'pearly smile', with waists slender as tendrils, with lips of a coral red and with swelling breasts that press against each other? The reading மன்னல் நெருங்கு மழலைச் செவ்வாய் வெள்ளை நகையார் cannot stand comparison with வள்ளி மருங்குல் நெருங்குதம் முலைச் செவ்வாய் வெள்ளை நகையார்.

It need not be pointed out that a very strong confirmation of the reading now offered is that while the other reading supposes some length of the stone surface between கொண்டவர் and மன்னல்[2] to bear no characters whatever, the new reading serves to show that there was writing here as well, that it has only disappeared in parts and that the remnants can still be gathered together to yield an intelligible reading.

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[1] Character 29.

[2] That is, from character 9 to character 18.

We may now pass on to line 16,—the next line. The only word on the reading of which we differ is விசி. The characters at this spot are badly damaged indeed, but yet we can trace remains of a different word. In the first place, we have room here for three letters, while விசி is made up of only two. In the second place, this word seems to have suggested itself to the two scholars because of its appearing in a similar context in the previous stanza. But we find that the poet has been, in the same hymn, varying with considerable skill the words he has been using in this context, and he has not repeated a word once used. We have thus a *prima facie* case against விசி. If we now look at the stone, we will find that the first two letters in this area may be spelt out into ந and ட, and that the third might possibly be the ghost of a ரு. We would then have the letters நடு which yields us a reading நடு செய் that is certainly much happier than the other, விசி செய்.

We may now turn to a consideration of the reading of the damaged portion of line 14.

The readings offered below for this line would differ from that of the two previous editors, not so palpably as in the case of line 15, but, more subtly,—in matters literary as well as palæographical. From the literary point of view the result would be a striking improvement.

We would do well to start, as before, with an examination of the rhyme-word. The two scholars take it to be சொள்ளை[1]—which does suit the rhyme and the context. But we have only to look at the stone to discover that the last letter[2] is not ளை; the 'animation' of the consonant ள் by the vowel ஐ is shown in inscriptions contemporary with this by a symbol almost in the shape of a ல which precedes the ர and gets linked on to it. The third character in this line[3] is a ளை and its shape is incised there quite clearly; a comparison with this character must suffice to show that the letter we are now concerned with cannot be a ளை by any possibility. On the other hand, we see above the ள a curve which, though damaged, is unmistakably the sign for the இ-animation. The

[1] Characters 22 to 24. [2] Character 24. [3] Character 3.

letter, therefore, is not ளை, but ளி. The immediately preceding letter[1] is ள and on it we are agreed. What then are the letters[2] that precede it? The other reading takes it to be கொ and so assumes room for three characters, but, really, there is not space for more than two. On a careful examination of the spot we find two characters தத there.

Perhaps we may now consider the value of the letter[3] which precedes these. We are agreed about the value to be attached to the consonantal portion, which is த, but not about that of the vowel mark above it. To my eye the sharp curve in that mark which converts it from a symbol of *i* into one of *ī* is quite clear, though the stone is damaged at that spot. I would, therefore, take the correct reading to be தீ. But I agree with the two scholars in the reading of ய[4] and த,[5] two characters which precede this one. The difference, however, in respect of the reading of தீ makes it impossible to allow the word யாழநதி to stand. We cannot, however, decide which the correct reading is till we settle what the letters a little before this one stand for.

The characters[6] which the two scholars make out to be கெழுவ may now be examined closely. The first character[7] is one which differs very slightly from the symbol used in this inscription, as in other records of this period, for the ெ of கெ, for, in the inner curve we find a slight indentation which really divides the inner curve into two still smaller curves. The symbol used here is not ெ but இ: the latter is undoubtedly the symbol for the independent vowel இ and ought not to be mistaken for the former which is the mark of *e* when it 'animates' a consonant. The next character[8] is certainly க and on this reading we are agreed. So, the correct reading of these two characters is not கெ but இக. Immediately before the join of the stones stands a character[9] த which evidently was missed by the two scholars on account

1 Character 23.

2 Characters 21 and 22.

3 Character 20.

4 Character 16.

5 Character 19.

6 Characters 11 to 15.

7 Character 11.

8 Character 12.

9 Character 15.

of its being not only very faint but also under-sized. Before this ச may be faintly discerned the remains of a character[1], so faint indeed that the outline can scarcely be picked out from the pitting of the stone in the vicinity; this is ந. Once its existence is pointed out, its presence will not be denied. Putting together the letters deciphered so far,[2] we have இக - நச; but there is a character between, which has yet to be made out.

The characters in this line which we have so far deciphered[3] may be ranged thus : இ - ந ுவ - - - இக - ன்னி. Thus far we have been purely guided by palæography, but for further progress in deciphering the decayed characters we shall have to turn to literary considerations.

What is the subject-matter of the verses? Taking it that in the first two verses of this stanza we may be sure of the words கிள்ளை மொழியாளை, 'her of parrot speech,' and தலை தக்கனைக் கொண்டவர் சார்வாம் 'we are devotees unto him who took the head of Takkaṉ,' and knowing as we do that this hymn on Śiva refers in every stanza to one of Śiva's exploits and also that *Takkaṉ* is only the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit *Daksha* and that the Purāṇas relate a story of how Daksha's head was taken by Śiva, we can have no difficulty in concluding that these two verses and, consequently, the doubtful letters and the gaps between them in line 14, must relate to the purāṇic incident.

What then is the story? Daksha had Śiva for his son-in-law,— Umā, Śiva's consort, being none other than Daksha's daughter. A feud, however, kept father-in-law and son-in-law apart,—one of the bones of contention being Śiva's right to a share in sacrificial offerings. Just to give vent to his spleen, Daksha performed a sacrifice to which he invited Vishṇu, Brahma and the other gods, but ostentatiously refused to send an invitation to his daughter and son-in-law. Umā, however, would not forget that she was Daksha's daughter,

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[1] Character 14.

[2] Characters 11, 12, 14 and 15.

[3] Characters 11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.

and she invited herself. Daksha was too cross with Śiva to appreciate the gracefulness of his daughter's visit and he insisted on her taking herself off instantly. Umā felt wroth at the insult, nor was Śiva less incensed when he learnt of Daksha's churlishness. From out of the flaming eyes of the couple sprang two myrmidons of vengeance, Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakāḷi, who strode up to the pavilion where the sacrifice was being performed and peremptorily demanded for Śiva the share of sacrificial offerings to which he had been entitled as of yore. Daksha refusing, Vīrabhadra assailed the assembled gods and harried them severely, when Daksha took up his sword and entered the fray. But Vīrabhadra's sword flashed out swift and Daksha's head rolled promptly into the sacrificial fire in which it was instantly reduced to ashes. Vīrabhadra then tossed the smouldering embers of the sacrifice to the four quarters and brought the sacrifice to an ignominious end.[1]

Jñāna-Sambandha uses this story in many of his hymns to illustrate the prowess of Śiva. In almost all of those hymns the reference is very brief,[2] but we have also two hymns in which the story is given a little more fully. One of them

[1] Various purāṇas present this story in different versions. It is well known that almost every purāṇic story appears in a different form in every purāṇa in which it is related. But Jñāna-Sambandha and his two brother-psalmodists seem to use each purāṇic story in an unvarying form. A critical examination of the versions adopted by these psalmodists—as also by the psalmodists of the Vaishṇavite school of the Tamil country—may help us to determine the sources from which these psalmodists drew their material and also to settle, in some measure, the chronology of the evolution of the purāṇas.

[2] Here are a few examples:

தக்கன் பெருவேள்வி தன்னி லமரரைத்
துக்கம் பலசெய்து

Hymn கல்லானிழல் on Tiru-Nallam.

விதிர்த்தெழு தக்கன்றன் வேள்வியன்று
சிதைத்தவன்

Hymn எரித்தவன் on Tiru-Nallam.

தக்கனார்பெரு வேள்வியைத் தகர்த்துகந்தவன்

Hymn பீடினால் on Tiru-Araiy-Aṇi-Nall-ūr.

தக்கனார் தலையரிந்த சங்கரன்

Hymn நம்பொருள் on Śī-Kāḷi.

speaks of Daksha's insult to Umâ and Śiva's wrath and the dismembering of Daksha's head.[1] In the other, Śiva is said to have scattered the sacrifice of Daksha who had insulted Umā.[2]

In the light of this story we may attempt a reconstruction of the readings in the areas where we are faced with doubts.

A lady, the consort of Śiva, plays a part in this story and in the verses referring to this incident we find mention of a கிள்ளை மொழியாள், 'she of parrot speech'; we may therefore take it that the கிள்ளை மொழியாள் is none other than Śiva's consort.

What is it that happened in the story to 'her of parrot speech' which might be found expressed in the characters of இக-ந்தவ? The head and front of Daksha's offence was that he had treated 'her of parrot speech' with a contumely which a daughter could not forget and even a goddess could not forgive. That contumely would be fittingly expressed by the word இகழ்ந்த—a word incorporating all the characters இக-ந்த which we have so far deciphered. Further, that word is,

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[1] மலைமகள் தனையிகழ் வதுசெய்த மதியறு சிறுமன வனதுயர்
தலையினொ டழலுரு வனகர மறமுனி வுசெய்தவ னுறைபதி
கலைநில வியபுல வர்களிடர் களைதரு கொடைபயில் பவர்மிகு
சிலைமலி மதில்புடை தழுவிய திகழ்பொழில் வளர்திரு மிழலையே
Hymn தடநிலவியமலை on Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai.

[2] புகழ்மக ளிணையினர் புரிகுழ லுமைதனை
இகழ்வுசெய் தவனுடை யெழின்மறை வழிவளர்
மகமது சிதைதர முனிவுசெய் தவன்மிகு
நிகழ்தரு மிழலையை நினையவல் லவரே
Hymn அலர்மகள் on Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai.

The rhyme-word in the third verse has been taken to be முகட in all the editions of the *Tēvāram*. Evidently, the word is assumed to mean the head of Daksha of which he was despoiled for insulting Umā. But this word does not yield any satisfactory meaning when taken, as it must be, with the preceding words *eḻiṉ maṟai vaḻi vaḷar*, 'reared in conformity with the resplendent Vedas.' Daksha did not indeed raise his head in battle under any sāstraic injunction. I have, therefore, adopted மகம் 'sacrifice' in place of முகம்; the reference would then be to the sacrifice of Daksha which was 'reared in conformity with the resplendent Vedas'.—Pandit M. Raghava-Aiyangar suggests to me that perhaps Jñāna-Sambandha preferred முகம் for reasons of *mōnai* but meant it however to be equivalent to மகம்,

except for a variation made for grammatical purposes, identical with the word இகழ்வு used in the same context in the two hymns of Jñāna-Sambandha which we have pointed to as embodying a passably full version of the purāṇic story. The vestiges of writing at this point do, indeed, on examination, assume the shape of a ழ[1] which gives us the word இகழ்ந்த—a word which suits perfectly the sense and the story. But we have also pittings on the stone which would seem to convert the straight downward stroke characteristic of ழ into a curve; in fact, the letter as we now have it looks almost as if ம had shot forth a straight line as well as a curve from its middle. A letter of this shape might be a mere ழ if the stroke is what was incised on the stone, or, may be a ழு or a ஞ or a ழூ if the letter had been incised with the curve. But ழு, ஞ and ழூ do not go into இக-ந்த, for readings such as இகழுந்த or இகழூந்த are impossible. The letter which stands at this spot has therefore to be accepted for a ழ, which, as already shown, gives us an excellent reading.

For a while we may turn to the other group of characters[2] which we have taken to be தீக நளனி. Immediately after this group follows a phrase in which the taking of Daksha's head is mentioned. The purāṇic story is that Daksha's sacrifice was strewn to the winds. A Vedic sacrifice implies fire, for which the word தீ stands. The scattering of it cannot be better expressed than by the word கன்னி which certainly the characters கனளி can with perfect accuracy indicate. The combination of the two words தீ and கன்னி gives rise under rules of Tamil liaison to the intermediate க.

But what are the letters[3] which must lie between இகழ்ந்தவ and தீக் கன்னி? Just after வ[4] of the former set of characters may be discerned a stroke[5] which, at first sight, looks like the independent stroke which ordinarily does duty for the vowel mark ா as well as for the consonant ர். As இகழ்ந்தவா offers no sense, we may take the reading to be இகழ்ந்தவர், 'he

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[1] Character 13.

[2] Characters 20 to 24.

[3] Characters 17 to 18.

[4] Character 16.

[5] Character 17.

who insulted'. This reading may be invested with some appropriateness either by making it refer to Daksha in the 'honorific plural' or by making it include Vishṇu, Brahma and the other gods who had insulted Śiva by attending a sacrifice of which his share of the perquisites had been denied to him and to which neither he nor his consort had been invited. The sacrificial fire must then be taken to have been reared by those 'who had insulted' Śiva, but we have no warrant whatever in the story for supposing that the *yāga* was one performed by them all; it was Daksha's—and only Daksha's. We have thus to take the plural to refer honorifically to Daksha. Two points, however, ought to be noted: Daksha who was guilty of insulting Śiva's consort, is not likely to have been dignified with the honorific plural which the final ர் implies, and there is a slight break in the upper portion of the stroke which would seem to make it more probable that the letter is not an ர் but an ன். In fact, the symbol has the appearance of a ன which, having been inserted in an area already over-packed, got crushed altogether out of shape. If this is a ன, we have the word இகழ்ந்தவன், the termination of which indicates the contempt the poet felt for Daksha who had been foolish enough to insult Śiva's consort. In the two stanzas of Jñāna-Sambandha which have been already referred to Daksha is mentioned very clearly in the singular. We have therefore ample justification for accepting இகழ்ந்தவன் as the correct reading in our stanza. That the ந் used here is the dental one and not the cerebral does not render this reading improbable; throughout this inscription the former has been preferred to the latter though the latter alone is required by every rule of Tamil orthography.

The letter which follows[1] is one which would be wholly unmistakable but for a suspicion whether a portion of its outline as now visible is not due to the stone having weathered away at that spot. One part of it is clear and it makes a ழ, but the downward stroke of this letter seems to be continued in a curve. While the almost similar character in இகழ்ந்தவன்

[1] Character 18.

might have been a ழ, a மு or a ழு or a ழூ, if what was incised was a mere stroke, or, in the alternative, only a மு, inasmuch as the curve which we see faintly does not spring off from the stroke but runs merely as a continuation of it. We have no warrant for expecting a ழ at this point, as we have already ruled out readings such as வாழ்த்தி, which alone were the justification for a ழ being postulated here. The character must therefore be a மு, and the curve, instead of being due to the weathering of the stone, must have been obscured by it. To the right of this மு, and between it and தீ is a letter which is faint but is certainly a க, as is evidenced by a clear curve in the body of the letter and a faintly traceable downward stroke.[1]

If we now fill in the gaps in what we read tentatively as இக - நதவ - - - தீ,நதளனி, we find that the correct reading is இகழ்ந்தவன் முத தீத் தன்னி.

Having already discussed the import of இகழ்ந்தவன் and தன்னி, we have only to find out if the phrase முத தீ, 'the' three fires', suits the context. This phrase is a well-known term for a Vedic sacrifice which, according to the *Śāstras*, is made up of three fires. Not only does Jñāna-Sambandha himself use it in that significance[2] but we have even earlier instances.[3] The term is a direct translation of a

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[1] We may perhaps consider another possible reading. If the letter which we have read above as ழ (character 18) had not a clear downward stroke it would be an ம் or ம which, with the other letters following it, த and தீ (characters 19 and 20), would be components of a word *makat-ti* 'sacrificial fire', which would be as good as *mut-ti* in the context. This word மகத் தீ occurs in this significance in the hymn already quoted. But this reading is an absolute impossibility in our stanza for two reasons. The downward stroke characteristic of ழ and மு is clear enough and there is no room whatever on the stone for a character க between ம and த்தீ.

[2] சேடர்விண் ணோர்கட்குத் தேவர்நன் மூவிரு தொன்னூலர்
வீடர்முத் தீயர்நால் வேதத்தர் வீழிமி ழலையார்

Hymn கேள்வியர் on Tiru-Vil̤i-Mil̤alai.

[3] தானே நரிக்கென வவரவி
யுடன்பெய் தோரே யழல்வேட் டவ்வவித்
தடவு நிமிர் முத்தீப் பேணியமன் னெச்சில்

Pari-Pāḍal, v, 40-2.

Sanskrit equivalent, of the early currency of which innumerable examples can be given.[1] The scattering of Daksha's sacrifice is what the phrase ழுக்கிக் கண்ணி means, and we can have no reading which could be more appropriate.

The reading we have obtained is: கிளிமொழியாளை இகழ்க்கவன் ழுகக் கிக கண்ணிக கலை தக்கனைக் கொண்டவர் சார்வாம்: 'We are devotees unto Him who scattered the sacrifice of Daksha—who had insulted her of parrot speech—and took his head.'

This agrees very closely with the story as we have it in the purāṇas and in Jñāna-Sambandha's hymns.

Some of the readings which have been advanced here might have suggested themselves to the two previous editors had they carefully studied the evolution of the shapes of the letters ழ, ழூ, ழு and ஞ.[2] In this inscription the symbols for the last three are almost indistinguishable. The confusion is not confined to this inscription; it is one which is present, more or less persistently, throughout the centuries from the seventh to the thirteenth. The elongation of the vowel of ழு has persistently been sought to be indicated by devices such as an indentation in the உ curve or a loop at either its beginning or its close. None the less, in this inscription the symbol for ஞ has lost its individuality and it is written in a form which is liable to be mistaken for ழு. An effort seems also to have been made from time to time to distinguish ழு from ழூ by varying the respective lengths of the shafts from which the *u* curves spring off, and another device adopted for the same purpose seems to have been the use of a

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[1] One of the sacrificial posts discovered at Īsapur bears an inscription which closes with the benediction *Priyantām agnayah* : 'May the three (or more) fires be propitious'. This inscription is attributable to the beginnings of the Christian era. (Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1910-1, p. 41.)

[2] These letters occur in this inscription at various places :

ழு—11:13 ; 23:5.

ஞ—6:18 ; 7:32 ; 14:18 ; 15:29 ; 18:1, 3 ; 20:32 ; 21:24.

ழ—4 6 ; 8:14, 29 ; 9.2, 22 ; 11:23 ; 12:34 ; 14 7, 13 ; 18:4 ; 19:26 ; 23:28 ; 24:32, 36, 53, including the ழ in ழி.

ழூ—17:55 ; 21:21 ; 22:38.

loop at the junction of the curve with the shaft as a distinguishing feature of either the one or the other of the characters. But none of these devices seems to have been persevered in nor applied consistently. We have no definite rule as to the shapes of மு and ழ and there is no fixity of shape within even one century,—though the letter மு seems to have outlines which do not change quite so capriciously. But in this inscription none of the three characters retains a distinct shape; were it not for the context we would be unable merely from the outline to say which sound a certain character represents. What is more, the shape of the letter மு in முக் தி is to be met with in only one other place in this inscription;[1] this is perhaps why the two scholars took the character to be only a ழ, treating what looks a curve in continuation of the downward stroke as an indentation due to the stone weathering away. But about the twelfth century the letters மு and ழு assume new shapes which are almost identical with their present-day appearance. Perhaps the occurrence of the new form of மு at only two places in this inscription confirms the opinion based on other palæographical considerations, that this inscription must be attributed to the twelfth century A.D., for it is then that the old form of that letter was disappearing and the new form was coming into use.

Putting together the various suggestions advanced so far the reading of the stanza would run thus :

இள்ளை மொழியாளை யிகழ்ந்தவன் முத்தீத்
தள்ளித் தலைதக்கனைக் கொண்டவர் சார்வாம்
வள்ளி மருங் தல் நெருங் தம் முலைச்செவ்வாய்
வெள்ளை நகையார் நடஞ்செய் விடைவாயே.

This reading is certainly preferable to the other as it satisfies the rules of prosody, yields better sense, eliminates the halts in the run of the verse, is much sounder palæographically, approximates quite closely to the purāṇic story and agrees with the version of it which we have in two hymns known unambiguously to be Jñāna-Sambandha's.

[1] In the middle of line 21.

The hymnists of the *Tēvāram* do not stringently observe the rules of prosody; their verses do often sin against the orthodox canons of versification. They seem to have come at a time when prosodic rules were in a state of flux, and, being psalmodists and not mere poets, they sacrificed prosodic accuracy when by so doing they could make their compositions better as canticles. The metre is a variety of *Kali-Viruttam.*[1] We cannot afford to be more precise on the prosody of a hymn of the *Tēvāram* type. This is the reason why in reconstructing the reading of the sixth stanza, stress has not been laid on arguments drawn from prosody.

Every *Tēvāram* hymn answers to a *paṇ* or melody-type. Our inscription does not tell us, however, to which *paṇ* this hymn was set. Perhaps, the *paṇ* is what is known as *takka-rāham.*[2] A study of the *paṇs* to which the hymns of the *Tēvāram* are sung is long overdue.[3]

The last stanza of this hymn gives the name of the psalmodist as Ñānaśambandan of Kāḷi. That being the name and style under which the great psalmodist of Tamil Śaivism, Jñāna-Sambandha of Śir-Kāḷi, is described in numerous hymns of his, we have to examine if this hymn also was one of his productions.

This hymn is similar to many of Jñāna-Sambandha's hymns in metre and *paṇ.*[4] Metrical tests are inapplicable, for hymns

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1 Vidvān Tiru-Nārāyaṇa-Aiyaṅgār would compare this hymn with Jñāna-Sambadha's hymn, நல்லார் தீமேவும் on Tirup-Pirama-puram.

2 This is the view of Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Svaminātha-Aiyar and of Pandit S. Sōmasundara-Dēśikar, and they suggest a comparison with Jñāna-Sambandha's hymn ஓடேகலன் on Tiruv-Iḍai-Marudu.

3 When we remember that the hymns of Jñāna-Sambandha and Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu belong to the same period as the musical treatise incised on the rock at Kuḍimiyāmalai (*Epigraphia Indica*, xii, 226-37), that it was probably one of the works of king Mahendravarman I, that having been 'curious-minded' it is not improbable that he devoted special attention to the music of the Tamil country,—and more especially to the music of the works of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu whose disciple he is believed to have been,—it looks worth investigating whether the rock-cut treatise throws any light on the *paṇ* system of the *Tēvāram* hymns.

4 An example has been cited already.

of this class do not follow the recognized prosodic rules. The structure of the verses is quite suggestive of Jñāna-Sambandha's authorship. The division of each stanza into two halves is a very common device of that psalmodist, and we have a number of his hymns of which the first half of each stanza closes with words similar to those in the same position in our hymn and the second half ends with the name of the *kshētra* in praise of which the hymn is sung.[1] In picturesqueness of language and sweetness of melody, this hymn is not inferior to most of Jñāna-Sambandha's compositions. Its literary qualities accord so well with those of well-known hymns of Jñāna-Sambandha that there can be little doubt of its being one of the genuine productions of that psalmodist.[2]

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[1] For examples, see :—

Hymn மத்தாவரை on Tiru-Mudu-Kunṛam

Hymn கலையார்மதி on Tiru-Aiy-āṛu.

Hymn அறையார் on Tirup-Pūvaṇam.

Hymn கள்ளார்ந்த on Tirup-Puḷḷ-Irukku-Vēḷ-ūr.

Hymn பந்தத்தால் on Tiruk-Kaḻu-Malam.

Hymn முன்னியகலை on Tirup-Puhali.

Hymn ஏடுமலி on Tiru-Naḷḷ-āṛu.

Hymn தொண்டர் on Tiruk-Kēdāram.

Hymn விடையதேறி on Tirup-Puhali.

[2] Even so cautious a scholar as Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Svāminātha-Aiyar writes to me, 'It is certainly a decad of Jñāna-Sambandha, அது திருஞான ஸம்பந்த மூர்த்தி நாயனார் பதிகமே'. Vidvān Tiru-Nārāyaṇa-Aiyaṅgār, a scholar not easily satisfied, writes to me : 'I think that this may be Jñāna-Sambandha's composition, இது சம்பந்தர் வாக்காயிருக்கலாமென்றெண்ணுகிறேன்.' Pandit M. Rāghava-Aiyaṅgār, no mean connoisseur, tells me that he is convinced that this psalm is indisputably Jñāna-Sambandha's. So too does Vidvān Kayappākkam Sadāśiva-Chettiyār, B.A., an authority on Śaiva Siddhānta [who went through the typescript of the book of which this paper originally formed a part. He incorporated this hymn, adopting my readings, in the edition of the *Tēvāram* which he brought out for the Śaiva Siddhānta Publishing Company. Later editors have followed his lead and included the hymn in the present version in their respective editions.]

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. XLVI

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[A Few Moroccan Superstitious Beliefs about the Night Heron]

The Night Heron (*Nycticorax griseus*, Blyth) has its "crown black; plumes white; bill black; six powder down tracts; and wing and tail grey". It is found in Central and Southern Europe and Asia, the whole of Africa (including Morocco) and the greater part of North America with the West Indies. It is found throughout India, Ceylon and Burma. It is locally distributed in the better-watered tracts.

In India, this heron passes the day in large trees such as mangoes or tamarinds or in palms. Large numbers of them associate together. After sunset, they fly off to feed on fish, frogs and the like. Their flight is heavy, and they often, while flying, utter a characteristic cry, somewhat like "*qwâl*". From this call-note one name by which they are widely known in India is taken.

Its Hindi names are *Wāk*, *Kwāk*, *Tārbāglā*, *Kokrai*. In Bengali it is called *Bātchkā*.

As the Night Heron is found throughout the whole of Africa including Morocco, the people of Morocco, who are Muhammadans, are familiar with this bird. They have a few superstitious beliefs regarding this heron. On this point, Dr. Westermarck says :—

"The Night Heron (*Nycticorax griseus*) is an ominous bird. The Ulād Büāzîz believe that, if it flies towards the east, people will die: and that, if it flies towards the west, domestic animals will die. It is on the move at night."*

From an analysis of the foregoing superstitious beliefs which the Ulād Büāzîz tribe of Morocco entertain regarding the Night Heron, we find that the undermentioned root-ideas underlie them :—

* *Vide Ritual and Belief in Morocco.* By Edward Westermarck, Ph D. In two volumes. London, Macmillan & Co., 1926 : Vol. II, page 341.

(1) The Night Heron, like the owl, flies about at night. As the owl is, in many parts of the world and among many peoples, looked upon as a messenger of death, the Night Heron also appears to be a harbinger of death.

(2) As many races of people believe that, if an owl perches upon a house, it prognosticates that some inmate of that house will die. In a similar manner, if the Night Heron flies towards the east and the west, its flight prognosticates that men and the domestic animals living in those directions respectively will die.

(3) Most likely, the Moroccans have some beliefs which associate death with the east and the west. Apparently they have no such superstitious beliefs about the north and the south.

(4) Most likely, the black crown and bill of this bird and its grey wings and tail, as also its habit of flying about in the night, have led the Moroccans to look upon this bird as disembodied spirits of the dead which prognosticate death. Similar beliefs are entertained in Bihar and Bengal about a few black-coloured birds which fly about during the night.

(5) Curiously enough, though the Night Heron is found throughout India and in Lower Bengal, no such superstitious beliefs are entertained by the people of Lower Bengal regarding this bird.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXIV

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[A Few Indian Myths about the Spanish Jessamine or the Pagoda Tree]

The Spanish Jessamine or the Pagoda Tree (*Plumeria acuminata* or *acutifolia*) belongs to the order *Apocyanaceæ*. It is also known as the Frangipani or the Life Tree. It is called *Gulachin* or *Kalki* in Hindi and goes by the name of *Khair Chāmpā* throughout the Bombay Presidency.

It has been introduced into India from Peru and is now cultivated in all the provinces of this country.

It is a small tree 10 to 12 feet high. It has large lanceolate smooth leaves measuring 9 inches long and 2½ inches broad. These leaves are borne in crowded bunches at the extremities of the stems. But these trees assume a remarkably uncouth appearance when their succulent and gouty-looking branches are destitute of leaves, as they often are during the cold-weather months. In this state they have been very aptly described by a poet, in the following words:—

"No leaves it has, no prickly points,
It is a mass of knotted joints."

During the hot and the rainy seasons, this tree bears, at the extremities of its succulent stems, crowded corymbs of large-sized, pure white and exquisitely sweet-smelling flowers with the interiors of their cups yellow-tinted.

It is planted round about temples and shrines. For this reason, it is called the *Pagoda Tree*.

It is especially planted in Muhammadan burial-grounds, for which reason it is sometimes designated as the *Grave-Flower*. An Anglo-Indian poet named Waterfield has, in his *Ballads*, sung the praises of this tree as a fit warder and guardian of the graves of the dead in the following lines:—

"Well have our fathers done,
Tree of the silent one
Still in thy praise shall the story be said,
Well did they, choosing thee
First of the wood to be
Warder and guardian of the graves of the dead."

The reason for the partiality shown towards this tree for planting in grave-yards appears to be the fact that when it is in full flower during the hot weather and the rainy season, they shed their fragrant flowers in profusion over the graves below, as if by way of offering floral tributes to the spirits of the dead.

It is called the *Life Tree* in Ceylon. The Sinhalese Buddhists use its flower as a favourite floral offering in their worship. They regard this tree as *an emblem of immortality* on account of its wonderful power of leafing and even blooming when its stems are broken off from the parent tree and, without being planted in the soil, are kept in the shade.*

The follicles of this tree are dark and rigid and are about six inches long. But, for some reason, they seldom produce seeds. The *mâlis* or Indian gardeners narrate a myth to the effect that the seeds of this tree are eaten therefrom by the cobras. In many places, its seeds are boiled in milk and administered as an antidote in cases of snake-bite.

From a study of the foregoing beliefs and myths about this tree, we find that—

(1) The Buddhists of Ceylon were accurate observers of natural phenomena.

(2) They saw that if cuttings of this tree were placed in the shade without being actually planted in the soil, they still put forth leaves and even bore blossoms. They, therefore,

* *Vide Familiar Flowering Trees in India.* By Ida Colthurst. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink & Co., 1924. Pages 87-90.

Also see Firminger's *Manual of Gardening in India.* By J. Cameron, F.Z.S. Fifth Edition. Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co, 1904. Page 497.

jumped to the conclusion that this tree possessed vitality in an extraordinary degree and, therefore, conferred upon it the designation of the "*Life Tree*".

(3) As a corollary to this belief, the Sinhalese Buddhists have come to regard this tree as being immortal and, therefore, regard it as an emblem of immortality.

(4) *This tree seldom produces seeds* and are very easily propagated by means of cuttings. This fact must have struck the *mâlis* or Indian gardeners who are mostly ignorant and possess no knowledge of the principles of biology. To account for this absence of the seeds, these ignorant *mâlis* have fabricated the myth that these seeds are eaten from the trees by cobras. This is a myth pure and simple, for cobras never eat vegetable products but live upon batrachians, fishes, little birds and eggs. It is strange and curious that, of all snakes, the *mâlis* should have selected the cobra as feeding upon the seeds of this tree. They might as well have alleged that some invisible birds ate its seeds, by which reason, this tree never bore seeds. This item of folklore will have to be inquired into further by folklorists. Should any gentleman be able to find out the true idea which underlies this belief, the writer of this article will be greatly obliged ' he will communicate to this *Journal* the result of his investigations into it.

(5) If the *mâlis*' belief that the cobras eat the seeds of this tree, has as its basis any substratum of fact, the reason for the use of its seeds (boiled in milk) as an antidote in cases of snake-bite, is not far to seek. If the seeds possess any property which attracts cobras, they may also possess some property which will counteract the venom of these ophidians. The question, therefore, arises as to whether this belief in the efficacy of the seeds of the *Plumeria acuminata* as an antidote to cobra-venom, prevails in other parts of India. Should any gentleman have any further information upon this item of folklore, he will greatly oblige the present writer by communicating his information to the pages of this *Journal*.

(6) As has been already stated above, there is a special fitness of the *Pagoda Tree* for being planted round about temples and pagodas. Not only are they very easily propagated by cuttings, but they bear a profusion of sweet-smelling flowers during the hot-weather months and in the rainy season when many Hindu religious festivals and ceremonies are held and performed. For the purposes of these religious ceremonies, garlands of flowers and loose floral offerings are required and the profuse flowers of this tree readily furnish the materials for their garlands and offerings. This tree has, therefore, been very appropriately given the appellation of the *Pagoda Tree.*

(7) Among all civilized peoples, flowers have been regarded as very suitable offerings to the dead. Among Christians, wreaths and crosses of flowers are placed upon the coffin when the same is taken for burial. For the same reason, these floral tributes are annually placed upon the graves of the dead at the anniversaries of the deaths of nearest and dearest ones. Among the Hindus, wreaths and bouquets of flowers are placed upon the bier when the corpses are borne away for cremation. I have already stated above that the Spanish Jessamine or the Frangipani tree, when in full flowers, bestrews the ground with its numerous sweet-smelling flowers. For this reason, it is eminently fitted for planting over the graves of the dead, for it will daily and spontaneously offer its floral tributes to the spirits of the dead. It has, therefore, been very aptly named the *Grave Flowers.*

(8) The designation which the Sinhalese Buddhists apply to the Pagoda Tree or Frangipani is "*Life Tree*" which is equivalent to "*the Tree of Immortality*". The question, therefore, arises: Is there any myth or tradition about a "Tree of Immortality" among any other Indian race? The answer to this question is not far to seek. For we find that there is in Hindu mythology a tradition about an immortal "***Kadam Tree***" (***Anthocephalus cadamba***). It is narrated that there was an immense lake named Kāliyadaha which was infested by a gigantic snake named Kāliyanāga. This monster's breath was

so venomous that any living being or animal or plant that came within a distance of 5 *kroses* of it was killed by its venomous breath. In the midst of this lake there was an island on which grew a *Kadam Tree*. On one occasion the divine bird Garuḍa, after feeding upon *amrita* or ambrosia, had perched upon it. Now it so happened that a drop of ambrosia fell from the bird's beak upon this tree and made it immortal. Consequently this tree was not destroyed by Kāliyanāga's venomous breath. Ultimately this monstrous snake was killed by the divine cowherd Śrī Krishṇa.

NOTES

A Study of Kulottunga Cholan Kovai.

POETS have sung about a few of the later Chōḷas only, though there were many of them constituting a long line of kings from the ninth to the thirteenth century. In the Praçasti of inscription No. 41 of 88,[1] it is said that Rājādhirāja, the illustrious son of the empire-builder Rajēndra Chōḷa I, better known as Gangaikoṇda Chōḷa, was celebrated in a *Paraṇi* called *Koppattu-p-paraṇi* for the victory he gained over the Western Chālukyās at Koppam. His brother Vīrarājēndra also got a *Paraṇi* for the success over them at Kūdalsangamam, a town near the confluence of a tributary of the Krishṇa with the main river. Both these works are not now available to us. Kulōttunga Chōḷa I was praised in a *Paraṇi* called *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi*[2] from the pen of the famous poet Jayagondān, portions of which have been translated and published in the *Indian Antiquary* long ago. The famous poet Otta-k-kūttan has sung about three successive kings, Vikrama Chōḷa, Kulōttunga Chōḷa II and Rāja-Rāja Chōḷa II in a series of poems. Kulōttunga III too has been celebrated in a poem called *Kumāra Kulōttungan Kōvai*,[3] the author of which is not known. All these poems contain valuable historical material. As already mentioned Kavi-c-chakravarthi Otta-k-kūttan was the author of a number of poems on the three Chōḷa kings during whose reigns he lived. *Vikrama Chōḷan ula*, *Kulōttunga Chōḷan ula*, *Rājarāja Dēvar ula*, *Kulōttunga Chōḷan Piḷḷaittamiḷ*, *Takkayāga-p-paraṇi* are some of them. All these poems except *Kulottunga Chōḷan Piḷḷaittamiḷ* have already been published and are available in print. *Kulōttunga Chōlan Piḷḷaittamiḷ* alone was not available till now.

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1 இலங்கைக்கரசசையும் அலங்கல் வல்லவனையும்
கன்ன குச்சி காவலனையும்
பொன்னணி முடித்தலை தடிந்தனன கொடிப்படையொடு
கன்றுடகர்விடு கடகரிபுரளத
தன்றுடையிற் தமிழ் பரணிகொண்டு, *S.I.I.*, IV, 22.

2 Edited by A. Gopala Iyer, Tamil Pandit, Madanapalli College.

3 Published by Ramaswamy Kavirayar, Tirupparankunram, Madura.

From a perusal of this work which has now been edited by Pandit L. Olaganatha Pillai and published by Sadásivan Brothers, Mylapore, we find that it contains a mine of historical information. Verse 2 of the poem states that the presiding deity in the Madura Temple composed *Irayinar Agaporul*—a treatise on subjectives. It only reiterates the tradition found in *Kalaviyal*,[4] which was supposed to be the work of God Himself. The singing of *Kaḷavaḷi*[5] by Poygayār from the liberation of the Chēra king Yānai-k-kat-cēy-Māntaramsēral Irumporai is mentioned in verse 102. The traditional story found in the three *Ulas* and in *Thirukalukunrapuranam* that Suraguru devised the earthen urns is referred to in verse 39. The piercing of the eye of Mukari,[6] a refractory king, who did not obey the orders of Kaṛikālan for bringing labourers to embank the Cauvery, is also mentioned in verse 53. The famous king Rājēndra Chōḷa Dēva, son of Rāja Rāja the Great, had the titles of Mudikonda Chōḷa and Panditha Chōḷa, and we find the same corroborated by verses 12 and 42. His conquest of Java, Sumatra and Malay[7] Peninsula is also referred to in verses 12 and 92. The interminable wars waged by the Chōḷas against the Western Chālukyās are alluded to in many of the verses. The exploits of the Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra are mentioned in verses 39 and 68. We know from *Vīrasoliyam* that Vīrarājēndra had the title of Karikālan.[8] Not only is this statement confirmed by stanza 59 but we are told his victories over the Chālukyās were celebrated in a *Paraṇi*. The wars waged by Kulōttunga I against Chālukya Vikramāditya VI are well described in verses 12, 13 and 101. We read in verse 14 about the wars with the Kaḷingas. Mention is also made of *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi*, and the author of that work Jayankondār is said to be the *Kavi-c-chakravarthi*—prince of poets—of his time. Verse 19 mentions the overthrow of Vairāgaram. One outstanding

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4 Published by S. Bavanandam Pillay, Madras.

5 Edited by V. Anantarama Aiyar, Mylapore, Madras.

6 See *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi*, where the same fact is mentioned.

7 See his inscriptions and the article "Jayankonda Chōḷa" in the *Journal of Indian History*, II, part 3.

8 *Vīrasoliyam*, 187.

feature found in verses 1 and 42 about Kulōttunga I is the corroboration of the statement found in the *Kalingattu-p-parani* (223 and 225) that the queen of Rajēndra Chōḷa-Dēva remarked on seeing her grandson (daughter's son) as soon as he was born, that he would be her son and reign as the emperor of the Chōḷas in succession to her husband. Whether this is true or a poetical fancy to explain the succession of Kulottunga I is not yet proved. The second and third wars waged by Vikrama Chōḷa, father of our hero, is told in verses 9 and 88. These victories have been celebrated by a *parani* sung by Kavi-c-chakravarthi himself, a fact which finds mention in verses 68 and 88. This is corroborated by references in *Kulottungacholan ula* and *Takkayāga-p-parani.* In an inscription found at Ṭirumalavādi,[9] a sacred Śaiva shrine on the northern bank of the Coleroon, it is said that Vikrama Chōḷa renovated the temple at Chidambaram, painted the *vimāna* with gold and did some other repairs. This fact is mentioned in verse 92 of this peom.

Now coming to the hero of the poem, he is said to have been the son of Vikrama Chōḷa who reigned from 1118 to 1133 A.D., by a Pāndya princess. This princess was the second daughter of the then Pāndya king (2 and 55). Kulōttunga's original name was Edirili-p-perumāḷ. His tutor was the poet Otta-k-kūttan. He was a great patron of letters and made innumerable gifts including precious gems (41). He is said to have not only patronized learned men but also showed sympathy towards men of indifferent learning (62). This statement falsifies the story that the poet Otta-k-kūttan sacrificed annually with the connivance of his king, poets of mediocre ability and men of indifferent learning to the Goddess Kāḷi on the Sarasvathipūja day. One of his Praçastis begin with *Pūmannu.*[10] Here also the first verse begins with the same word.[11] He was generally known by the title Abhaya. This title is found

9 *S.I.I.*, III, No. 79.

10 பூமன்னு பதுமம் பூத்தவேழுலகுந்
தாமுனசெய் தவத்தால் பருதிவழித் தோன்றி
*   *   *

11 பூமன்னு பொழிலேழுங் கடலேழுங் கடவுட்
பொருப்பேழு மெண்ணிலவு..................

in twenty-five verses of this poem and in three places of the *Ula*. It is said that he was the patron of Sēkkiḷar—author of *Periya-purāṇam*, story of the 63 Śaiva saints—and at his instance this work was sung. As the name Anapāyā is found in many places in *Periyapurāṇam* and Kulōttunga II is said to possess the title, they come to the conclusion that this king should have arranged for the appearance of that work. But this title *Anapāyan* does not find place as the other title in the two poems sung by a contemporary poet of his times. Moreover *Thiruthondathokai*, a hymn sung by Sundarar, the piece on which the whole of *Periyapurāṇam* is built, was arranged to be sung in the Chidambaram temple itself by Rājēndra Chōḷa[12] nearly a century before the commencement of the reign of Kulōttunga II. These facts with others go to prove a long way the improbability of Sēkkiḷar having been patronized by Kulōttunga II.

On reading the whole poem, one gets the impression that Kulōttunga II was a powerful king wielding sway over the entire Chōḷa empire which was consolidated by his forefathers.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.

Rasimanas.

THE time of oblique ascension of each sign of the zodiac above the horizon is being erroneously valued by most of the astrologers irrespective of the latitude of the place for which they have to ascertain the same. As a result of this, their conclusion becomes otherwise than what it ought to be. From a study of *Surya Siddhānta*, the great astronomical work of India, we will understand that the equator runs through Lunka and that "Rasimanas" or the time of ascension of each sign above the horizon is fixed for Lunka with a direction to give effect to some change called "Charakhanda" to every degree of latitude on either side of it. The same theory is available in the western astronomy also. Obviously the "Rasimanas" are not common throughout the land, but vary from one latitude to another.

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12 *South Indian Inscriptions*, IV.

With a view to facilitate the public to ascertain the ascension of the zodiacal sign and its degree for the given time in places situated on different latitudes.comprising India, the following table is prepared on the basis indicated in *Surya Siddhānta*. The figures given in the table are in "Ghatis" and "Vighatis". One Ghati is equal to 24 minutes and one Vighati to 24 seconds.

Readers may ascertain the latitude of the given place from a reference to the map of India and then work out the rising sign and its degree, adopting the "Rasimanas" shown against that latitude in the following table.

Latitude	Mesha	Vrishabha	Mithuna	Kataka	Simha	Kanya	Tula	Vrischika	Dhanus	Makara	Kumbha	Meena	Important place on the latitude
0	4–38	4–59	5–23	5–23	4–59	4–38	4–38	4–59	5–23	5–23	4–59	4–38	Lunka.
1	4–36	4–57	5–22	5–24	5– 1	4–40	4–40	5– 1	5–24	5–22	4–57	4–36	
2	4–34	4–55	5·22	5–24	5–.3	4–42	4–42	5– 3	5–24	5–22	4–55	4–34	
3	4–31	4–53	5–21	5–25	5– 5	4–45	4–45	5– 5	5–25	5–21	4–53	4–31	Sea.
4	4–29	4–52	5–20	5–26	5– 6	4–47	4–47	5– 6	5–26	5–20	4–52	4–29	
5	4–27	4–50	5–19	5–27	5– 8	4–49	4–49	5– 8	5–27	5–19	4–50	4–27	
6	4–24	4–49	5–19	5–27	5– 9	4–52	4–52	5– 9	5–27	5–19	4–49	4–24	Galle.
7	4–22	4–47	5–18	5–28	5–11	4–54	4–54	5–11	5–28	5–18	4–47	4–22	Colombo.
8	4–20	4–45	5–17	5–29	5–13	4–56	4–56	5–13	5–29	5–17	4–45	4–20	Habavani.
9	4–18	4–43	5–16	5–30	5–15	4–58	4–58	5–15	5–30	5–16	4–43	4–18	Rameswar.
10	4–16	4–41	5–16	5–30	5–17	5– 0	5– 0	5–17	5–30	5–16	4–41	4–16	Madura.
11	4–14	4–39	5–15	5–31	5–19	5– 2	5– 2	5–19	5–31	5–15	4–39	4–14	Mayavaram.
12	4–12	4–38	5–14	5–32	5–20	5– 4	5– 4	5–20	5–32	5–14	4–38	4–12	Mysore.
13	4– 9	4–36	5–14	5–32	5–22	5– 7	5– 7	5–22	5–32	5–14	4–36	4– 9	Madras & Bangalore.
14	4– 7	4–34	5–13	5–33	5–24	5– 9	5– 9	5–24	5–33	5–13	4–34	4– 7	Penukonda.
15	4– 4	4–32	5–13	5–33	5–26	5–12	5–12	5–26	5–33	5–13	4–32	4– 4	Bellary.
16	4– 2	4–30	5–12	5–34	5–28	5–14	5–14	5–28	5–34	5–12	4–30	4– 2	Kurnool.

17	3-59	4-28	5-12	5-34	5-30	5-17	5-17	5-30	5-34	5-12	4-28	3-59	Wadi.
18	3-57	4-26	5-11	5-35	5-32	5-19	5-19	5-32	5-35	5-11	4-26	3-57	Vizianagar.
19	3-54	4-24	5-11	5-35	5-34	5-22	5-22	5-34	5-35	5-11	4-24	3-54	Bombay.
20	3-51	4-22	5- 9	5-37	5-36	5-25	5-25	5-36	5-37	5- 9	4-22	3-51	Aurangabad.
21	3-49	4-20	5- 7	5-38	5-38	5-28	5-28	5-38	5-38	5- 7	4-20	3-49	Nagpur.
22	3-46	4-18	5- 6	5-40	5-40	5-30	5-30	5-40	5-40	5- 6	4-18	3-46	Bhavanagar.
23	3-44	4-16	5- 5	5-41	5-42	5-32	5-32	5-42	5-41	5- 5	4-16	3-44	Ujjain.
24	3-42	4-14	5- 4	5-42	5-44	5-34	5-34	5-44	5-42	5- 4	4-14	3-42	Katni.
25	3-39	4-12	5- 3	5-43	5-46	5-37	5-37	5-46	5-43	5- 3	4-12	3-39	Gaya.
26	3-37	4-11	5- 2	5-44	5-47	5-39	5-39	5-47	5-44	5- 2	4-11	3-37	Gwalior.
27	3-34	4- 9	5- 2	5-44	5-49	5-42	5-42	5-49	5-44	5- 2	4- 9	3-34	Agra.
28	3-32	4- 7	5- 1	5-45	5-50	5-45	5-45	5-50	5-45	5- 1	4- 7	3-32	Aligarh.
29	3-29	4- 5	5- 0	5-46	5-53	5-47	5-47	5-53	5-46	5- 0	4- 5	3-29	Meerut.
30	3-27	4- 3	5- 0	5-46	5-55	5-49	5-49	5-55	5-46	5- 0	4- 3	3-27	Haridwar.
31	3-25	4- 1	4-59	5-47	5-57	5-51	5-51	5-57	5-47	4-59	4- 1	3-25	Jalundar.
32	3-23	3-59	4-58	5-48	5-59	5-53	5-53	5-59	5-48	4-58	3-59	3-23	Amritsar.
33	3-21	3-57	4-58	5-48	6- 0	5-56	5-56	6- 0	5-48	4-58	3-57	3-21	Jhelum.
34	3-19	3-54	4-57	5-49	6- 1	6- 0	6- 0	6- 1	5-49	4-57	3-54	3-19	Peshawar & Srinagar.

H. N. SUBBA RAO.

EDITORIAL

THE celestial Hierarchies of Dionysius the Areopagite based on passages from the two Testaments and embodying the essential principles of the Neoplatonic teachings have been translated from the original Greek and published by the Editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom* in their 1933 Winter Number. These hierarchies are divided into three Triads, the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones which are nearest to the Godhead ever dwelling in the vestibule of Divinity; the Dominions, Virtues, and Powers which are given the middle place as indicating the ordered governance of Providence; and the Principalities, Archangels and Angels representing the final execution of the work of Providence. The translation and an article on the Neoplatonic teachings on prayer by Iamblichus, Proclus, Hierocles and Dionysius himself are thought-provoking. Iamblichus mentions three chief species of prayer, the collective, the connective and the unitive. Proclus while dealing with part of the doctrine of the former gives expression to some very lofty and beautiful teachings. And Hierocles' views are 'Betake yourself to the work having implored the Gods to bring it to perfection'.

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The late Swami Shivananda whose recent demise at Belur is mourned all over India and elsewhere is the author of a short article on Pranayama in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for January 1934. The Swamiji says that Pranayama comes of itself to those who repeat the Lord's holy name and think and meditate on Him with devout and intense longing. He asks "Is it by mechanical Pranayama alone that one can realize God?" and answers the question with an emphatic 'No'. He argues that when the heart is filled with an intense longing for God, respiration almost stops and the Sadhaka repeats holy names and devotional songs and meditates necessarily coupled with great concentration. That condition of respiration is what is called Pranayama.

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In the same issue of the journal are published some more interesting articles and we would particularly direct the attention of readers to 'The Light of the Self' based on Sankara's commentary on the Brihadaranyaka by Swami Madhavananda.

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The Register of Tippoo's dreams written in Persian is housed in the India Office Library and R. L. Mégroz makes a study of six of them which have been translated into English in the *Aryan Path* (January 1934). The author has contributed two articles on the subject of dreams in two previous issues in 1931 and 1932 and evidently will contribute more. Mr. K. Chandy while presiding over the Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society (in 1927) suggested that a deep study into dream psychology might be undertaken by some students. Apart from this aspect, a complete translation of Tippoo's dreams by some scholar who has easy access to the India Office Library would certainly be a very useful work for a study of the personality of Tippoo himself. The study under reference reveals that devotion to his faith caused Tippoo subsequently to be ranked by Mahomedans as a martyr. The dreams recorded show no more than that the wish is father to the thought and confirms several of Tippoo's known traits of character.

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Rai Bahadur Joges-Chandra Ray gives the first instalment of an article on a very interesting subject "Food and Drink in Ancient India" in the *Man in India* (XIII—4). The paper has been divided into three chapters dealing respectively in food grains known from the earliest times to the sixteenth century A.D., food and provisions, and intoxicating liquors. The author's chief source of authority seems to be Kautilya while the Vedic literature, the Smṛtis, the Puranas and other Sanskrit works have been freely drawn upon. This article together with Mr. Ray's Lectures on "Ancient Indian Life" published in the *Calcutta Review* in 1927 and his promised article on the "Soma Plant" would form a very valuable contribution to Indian Ethnography.

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The cult of nudity is an absorbing subject. The earliest man went about naked without a thought. Clothing the body with twigs and leaves and later, skins and cloth was probably devised for warmth and convenience, and from small beginnings we arrive at the mediæval times when as much of the body was covered as could conveniently be done. And now, we have the revolt of modern times particularly in the West where it is nothing strange for a respectable girl to go in a single bathing costume. But these transformations have gone on differently in different parts of the world as custom and convention have gone on changing. We have an article on the subject in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (XV—3) in which Mr. R. P. Masani discusses the subject as it relates to India where the nude Jain ascetics are adored and nudity plays an important part in magical medicine and in ritual. One would welcome an exhaustive and authoritative treatise on the subject viewed from all aspects and embodying the cult as practised at different times and in different countries all over the world and including the psychological changes that have taken place in human minds about nudity and clothing.

Books received during the Quarter ending 31st March 1934

Presented by :—

University of Madras—

Some Aspects of the Vayu Purana—by V. R. R. Dikshitar.

Pushpadanta Puranam of Gunavarma (Madras University Kannada Series No. 4)—by Rao and Ayyangar.

Vijayanagara—by N. Venkataramanaiya.

University of Dacca—

Annual Report for 1932-33.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Madras—

Indian History for Matriculation—by K. P. Mitra.

Government of Mysore—

Mysore Health Quarterly Report—December 1932.

Stores Purchase Committee Report—1932-33.

Administration Report—1932-33.

Joint-Stock Companies Report—1932-33.

Geological Department Report—1932-33.

Civil Veterinary Department Report—1932-33.

Proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council—Budget Session—June 1933.

Police Department Report—1932-33.

Civil Justice Report—1932-33.

Criminal Justice Report—1932-33.

Department of Public Works Report—1932-33.

Revenue Department Report—1932-33.

Health Quarterly—1-9-1933.

Co-operative Societies Report—1932-33.

Industries and Commerce Report—1932-33.

Live-Stock Report—1932-33.

Sir Charles Todhunter—

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol. XVI.

Vedic Research Institute, Poona—

Rgveda-Samhita with Commentary of Sayanacharya, Vol. I, Mandal I—by N. S. Sontakke.

The Authors—

A Guide to the Pictures in the Government House and Lalita Mahal at Mysore—by C. Hayavadana Rao.

Elements of Logic (Tamil)—by S. Gnanaprakasar.

B.B.R.A.S., Bombay.

Report for 1932.

Director of Industries and Commerce in Mysore—

Indo-Sumero-Semitic-Hittite Problems, Part I—by R. S. Vaidyanatha Iyer.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Evidence of Indian Occupancy in Albemarle County, Virginia (S.M.C., Vol. 89, No. 7)—by David I. Bushnell, Jr.

Government of India—

South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII (Archæological Survey of India: New Imperial Series, Vol. LIII)—by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer.

South Indian Epigraphy: Annual Report—31-3-1931.

Mr. F. R. Sell—

Mysore University Magazine, Vol. I.

Do. do. II.

Karnataka Historical Association, Dharwar—

Annual Report for 1932-33.

V. R. Sastrulu & Sons, Madras—

Mahabharata (Southern Recension)—by P. P. S. Sastri.

Government of Travancore—

Archæological Report for 1931-32.

University of Mysore—

Annual Report for 1932-33.

Purchased:

History of the English People, Vol. I.

Do. do. II.

Do. do. III.

Do. do. IV.

—by G. R. Green.

Indian Annual Register, 1933, Vol. I—by Mitra.

423-34 Printed at The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, by T. Subramania Aiyar, Superintendent.